THE

ROMANS UNDER THE EMPIRE

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HISTORY

OF THE

ROMANS UNDER THE EMPIRE.

BY

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HISTORY

OF THE

ROMANS UNDER THE EMPIRE.

CHAPTER XXXII.

The imperial administration.—1. The people: 2. The privileged orders; the senate, and the knights: 3. The magistrates; the consuls, the prætors, the judges, the quæstors and ædiles; the præfect of the city; municipal officers.—Officialism.—The proconsuls and governors of the provinces: the municipal privileges of the provinces.—4. The military establishment: 5. The finances; objects of expenditure and sources of revenue.—Concluding remarks.

Subject of the chapter, the imperial administration.

The last chapter has presented to us the portrait of the emperor himself, standing out unrelieved from the blank canvas; our next step must be to fill in the back-ground of the picture, to give life and reality to this central figure, and harmonize the colouring of its parts. I proceed to bring under a rapid review the constituent elements of the imperial administration, to describe the political condition of the Roman people, the functions and prerogatives of the privileged orders, the powers of the principal magistrates, the government of the provinces, the military and financial systems of the empire, as constituted by the founder of the monarchy. The settlement effected by Augustus endured in its main features throughout the three centuries and a half which now lie before us; but that long period is divided into two unequal portions by the sudden revolution

which broke the sceptre of the Antonines, and finally subordinated the civil to the military institutions of the state. Even before the era of the accession of Pertinax we shall remark in particular instances the innovations of time and circumstance, and observe the general gravitation of the whole machine towards a more absolute despotism.

I. Constitutional functions of the Roman people under the empire.

I. The victor of Actium, on his return to Rome, found the people, assembled in their centuries, the acknowledged arbiters of every project of law submitted to them by the senate, while in their tribes they could originate measures of their own, at the instigation of their tribunes, and enforce them upon the collective body of the citizens. The course of political change, which in the best ages of the republic had elevated the commons to a full equality with the patrician class, had gradually extended the authority of the popular assemblies, and constituted them in fact, at the moment when the republic was passing into an empire, the real makers of the laws. This prerogative of sovereignty the master of the commonwealth could neither safely seize himself, nor abandon to a co-ordinate power in the state. He began therefore with modestly claiming only the initiative of measures, through the various magistracies of which he possessed himself: he then encroached gradually with his rescripts and proclamations upon the legitimate province of the law, and thus accustomed the people to the rarer use of their highest and gravest functions. The plebiscita or measures initiated by the tribes were the first to cease. The emperor firmly maintained the dignity of the senate against the rivalry of the comitia, and required that every measure should at least receive the assent of the more illustrious body before it was stamped as law by the fiat of the centuries. It was not often however after the reign of the second of the princes,

Tiberius, that the people were actually summoned to ratify a law at all. Still less were they indulged with the exercise of the judicial prerogatives, by which they had asserted their paramount sovereignty in the period of the commonwealth. Jealous even of the powers they entrusted to magistrates of their own appointment, they had admitted an appeal from the civil jurisdiction to their own superior tribunal. The people assembled in their tribes exacted from their officers an account of the exercise of their functions, and inflicted at least pecuniary mulcts in cases of malversation. In charges affecting the life of a Roman citizen, the culprit was summoned before the popular judicature of the centuries: but the law was tenderly considerate to the interests of the criminal and the feelings of his judges, and allowed him to decline the appointed trial by withdrawing into exile. Certain of the allied cities were specified as places of refuge for the accused Roman, and a clause in the compact between them and the republic guaranteed the inviolability of their hospitable retreats. But this judicial prerogative was soon absorbed in the general jurisdiction of the emperor, and of the judges appointed by his authority.[1] The right of appeal was silently withdrawn from the people, and vested in the supreme ruler of the state alone: the privilege of declining a trial was still allowed to linger; but it continued to offer no substantial advantages to the culprit; for the allied states were rapidly absorbed into the imperial provinces, and no city of refuge extended its arms to receive him.[2] The emperor, if

[1] Dion, lvi. 40: ἐκ δὲ τοῦ δήμου τὸ δύσκριτον ἐν ταῖς διαγνώσεσιν ἐς τὴν τῶν δικαστηρίων ἀκρίβειαν μεταστήσας, τό τε ἀξίωμα τῶν ἀρχαιρεσίων αὐτῷ ἐτήρησε, κἂν ταύταις τὸ φιλότιμον ἀντὶ τοῦ φιλονείκου σφᾶς ἐξεπαίδευσε.

[2] Gibbon (*Decl. and Fall*, ch. iii.) has pointed out in striking language the impossibility of escaping the wrath or justice of the emperor; but in his summary of the imperial constitution he has not paused to show how it was that the old means of refuge were precluded.

he allowed his victim to evade the disgrace or peril of condemnation, appointed him his place of exile on some barren rock, or in some ungenial clime, where existence was itself a punishment; or if he withheld this miserable favour, constrained him to relieve his judge by self-destruction from the painful necessity of ordaining his execution.

They are deprived of the election of magistrates.

The duties of legislation were laborious; those of jurisdiction were invidious also; but the sovereign people possessed another prerogative, the sweets of which might counterbalance the pains and toils of all their other functions. Assembled in their centuries the Roman citizens appointed to all the higher magistracies of the republic; convened in their tribes they dispensed the lesser or municipal offices of the city. For these honourable distinctions, for the pleasure and profit of serving the commonwealth, there was ever a crowd of competitors, to strive with or bid against one another, to descend to the meanest flattery or the darkest intrigues, to hold forth shows and entertainments with the one hand, and to lavish gold with the other. The occupants of every magistracy were annually replaced, and a fresh crowd of candidates arrayed in white robes and attended by experienced canvassers, glided through the streets and public places, visiting from house to house, or thronging the forums, the theatres and the baths, till the moment arrived when the voters were marched across the *bridge*, and penned in the *sheepfold*, and admitted in secrecy and security to place their ballots in the urn. The mass of the citizens divided with the senate, as their executive committee, the manifold patronage of the state. The foreign relations of the commonwealth, including the provinces, were mainly confided to the care of the latter assembly; and while the people retained the appointment to the metropolitan offices, they generally allowed the senate to nominate the pro-

consuls, ambassadors and political agents to serve their interests abroad. The value of these ulterior appointments had stimulated the competition in the Field of Mars: the race for preferment was long, but it was cheered by the acclamations of the spectators, the excitement of the struggle, and the splendid prospect of the prize. It was the policy of the principate to tame down the passions which had been generated in the headlong fury of this career. The prizes were multiplied in number, and diminished in dignity and value. Augustus stepped into the arena of public competition to recommend candidates of his own selection, and his voice was more influential than even that of the prerogative century. He may have adopted some specific measures for controlling the elections, and ensuring the nominations he demanded. Such at least seems to have been the object of the plan he devised of permitting the citizens in the Italian colonies, which he had filled with partisans of his own, to send up their votes to the capital.[1] By thus dispensing with the voters' personal appearance, he might obtain a multitude of suffrages which otherwise could not have been tendered at all, and overpower the unruly or venal voices of the urban populace. The fate of the popular elections was precipitated by the discovery the candidate soon made, that the favour of the prince was more efficient than that of the people. The sordid

[1] The passage from which we learn this curious innovation in the principles of ancient government is an obscure one. Suet. *Oct.* 46.: "Italiam . . . . etiam jure et dignatione urbi quodammodo pro parte aliquâ adæquavit, excogitato genere suffragiorum, quæ de magistratibus urbicis decuriones colonici in suâ quisque coloniâ ferrent, et sub diem comitiorum obsignata Romam mitterent." It seems probable from the context that this indulgence was limited to the twenty-eight military colonies of Augustus. Savigny supposes that the right of voting in this manner was accorded to the decurions only. Others by *ferrent* understand *ferri juberent*, and maintain that the decurions collected the suffrages of their fellow townsmen for the elections of the capital.

compliances demanded of the canvasser had always galled the pride of the Roman patrician. To kiss the hand of the emperor was less painful to him than to grasp the horny palm of the urban artisan. Before the captain of the armies, the prince of the senate, the high priest of the national divinities, he could prostrate himself without humiliation in the dust; but to cringe to the barbarian of yesterday, or the freedman whom he had himself emancipated, was a degradation in his fastidious view to which the direst necessity could hardly reconcile him. The emperors watched and profited by this feeling. They redoubled the amusements of the people, while they withdrew their privileges; and if a shadow of free election was still preserved through the reign of Augustus, his successor promptly swept it away, and raised but a transient unheeded murmur by its suppression.[1]

Augustus affects to maintain the estimation of Roman citizenship.

Augustus however was actuated by no deliberate wish to degrade the estimation of Roman citizenship. The dictator, he may have thought, had gone as far in extending the franchise as the circumstances of the times would justify. His efforts were directed rather to shutting the door against the provincials than throwing it more widely open; and he restricted the liberty of manumitting slaves to which the cupidity of needy masters seemed too easily tempted. He wished the masters of the Roman world to be dis-

[1] Tac. *Ann.* i. 15. Of the limitation with which the language of Tacitus is to be understood more will be said hereafter. Julius Cæsar had materially curtailed the power of election; but his arrangement, which was as distinct as it was arbitrary, lasted only during his life. Suet. *Jul.* 41. During the triumvirate the elections had been controlled, but Augustus restored them ostensibly to their ancient form. Suet. *Oct.* 40.: "Comitiorum pristinum jus reduxit." Comp. Dion, liii. 21. Some have understood the *pristinum jus* to mean the regulation introduced by Julius, and assuredly the practice under Augustus differed little from that under his predecessor.

tinguished by the national costume in which they had so long ruled over it. During the late disturbances the use of the short military lacerna had superseded even in the city the ample folds of the peaceful toga. The substitution might be recommended by its convenience; but it was deemed unseemly, and moreover it served to recall painful associations. Augustus was anxious to correct it. He abstained however from repressive measures, and with admirable tact contented himself with repeating a verse from the Æneid of Virgil, with whose noble accents the Roman world was then first resounding. *Behold,* he exclaimed with indignant irony, *the lords of earth, the nation of the gown.*[1] Nevertheless the necessities of his position induced him to pamper this ill-bred populace with gratifications which could not fail to break down every remnant of personal or national pride. The policy of the triumvir had been a perpetual effort to coax or terrify the unruly citizens. The failure of the sources whence the granaries of the city had been supplied had long held his affairs trembling in the balance. The sagest counsels and expedients, backed by the strongest demonstrations of force, had barely sufficed to maintain order while Sextus was threatening Rome with famine. This dire experience had determined the emperor never to trust his power to the caprices of the seasons or the improvidence of a dissolute mob.[2] Various causes, both physical and moral, combined to impede the improvement of agriculture in Italy at a time when the population of its cities, and especially of Rome itself, was rapidly increasing, as we may pre-

[1] Suet, *Oct.* 40.: "Romanos rerum dominos, gentemque togatam."

[2] An anecdote told of Augustus by Aurelius Victor, if not strictly credible, though countenanced apparently by Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* vii. 46., may at least attest the extreme importance supposed to attach to the due supply of the capital with grain: "Cives sic amavit ut tridui frumento in horreis quondam viso statuisset veneno mori si e provinciis classes interea non venirent." Aurel. Vict. *Epit.* 6.

sume, with their increasing political importance. Nor were the methods of transport by sea sufficiently matured under the natural laws of exchange to supply a sudden deficiency in the harvests of the peninsula.

Disastrous policy of free distributions of corn.

The policy of providing against these perilous accidents was forced upon every successive government. But the change from providing plenty in the markets to doling gratuitous alms to every poor or lazy applicant, was rapid and disastrous. Pompeius had trodden in the one course, Cato had sanctioned the other. Cæsar had modified, while he admitted, the fatal expedient of a free largess, and the triumvirs had resorted to it without shame or remorse to prop their precarious usurpation. Hitherto however the aid of the magistrate had been occasional only and irregular. Augustus reduced it to a system, and made it perpetual. Yet even he saw the danger, and would have grappled with the difficulty, had he not been convinced, as he himself avowed in his later years, that even if he withdrew his gratuitous distributions, a successor or a rival would undoubtedly restore them. He contented himself therefore with imposing restrictions on the claims to his bounty. When he came to power he found three hundred and twenty thousand citizens of the male sex (for females were excluded) enrolled as recipients of the public dole. It was by the exercise of no little firmness and energy that he reduced this number to two hundred thousand by striking off fictitious claimants and pretended paupers, and by removing into his colonies as many as could be tempted to emigrate. The Roman commons were themselves an impoverished aristocracy in the midst of a population of slaves and dependent foreigners. Not many perhaps among them, if they chose to seek employment, could sink into absolute want. But the false pride of political rank revolted from the vulgar industry of trade and labour; and the preju-

dice which a wise ruler would have combated with mild resolution, was confirmed by this ill-judged indulgence. Yet notwithstanding all his care to import grain for free distribution from the most abundant regions of the empire, for which object he kept his new province of Egypt under his own direct control, Augustus could not prevent the recurrence of severe scarcities. The tumults which ensued upon that of 732 have been already mentioned, and another in 759 constrained the government to adopt the harshest measures to reduce the number of mouths in the famishing city. Then it was that Augustus confessed that these largesses were working unmitigated evil, retarding the advance of agriculture, and cutting the sinews of industry.[1]

II. Functions of the senate under the republic.

II. The senate and the knights were orders of the Roman people distinguished by certain political privileges from the mass of their fellow citizens. The former of these I have ventured to designate as the executive committee of the people, whom in some sense it represented: for under the republic to have exercised any of the magistracies to which the people elected constituted a claim to admission into its ranks. It transacted with dignity, despatch, and at least comparative privacy, many state affairs which could not be confided to a capricious and turbulent assembly. It conferred with foreign envoys, and when war was declared by the joint resolution of the senate and people, it was by the compact energy of the senate alone that hostilities were conducted. The senate appointed imperators and proconsuls, decreed them their provinces, and granted or withheld the honours of the supplication and the triumph. The same hand held not only the sword of the commonwealth, but its purse also; it imposed taxes and contribu-

[1] Suet. *Oct.* 42, 46. Comp. Mon. Ancyr. iii. 21; Dion, lv. 10, 26.

tions of all kinds, and even the quæstors elected by the people were the accountable agents of the senate.[1] The religion of the state, a political instrument hardly less important than the legions or the treasury itself, was subjected to the same ultimate control. Measures to be submitted for the ratification of the comitia were first discussed in this assembly. Above all, the public safety was formally committed to its guardianship, and at a crisis of unusual danger the senate was authorized to suspend all ordinary forms of law, and arm the consuls with irresponsible powers.

Augustus maintains the dignity of the order.

Such were the principal cares of this august order under the republic; and they were duly repaid by the favour and reverence of the people, the awe and subservience of foreigners, the robe of honour by which its members were distinguished, and the long array of places and offices to which they might aspire.[2] Augustus, while he owed his elevation to the popular interest in the state, was anxious to raise up a barrier of wealth and rank between himself and the spirit of democracy. While he showed himself anxious to multiply in many directions the public sources of profit and dignity, he rigorously confined the number of the senate to six hundred, the limit fixed before the civil wars. He raised the property qualification to twelve hundred thousand sesterces, equivalent to about ten thousand pounds of our money.[3] In his censorial

[1] Cic. *in Vatin.* 15.: "Eripueras senatui provinciæ decernendæ potestatem, imperatoris deligendi judicium, ærarii dispensationem, quæ nunquam sibi pop. Romanus appetivit."

[2] Cic. *pro Cluent.* 56.: "Senatorem queri non posse quod ea conditione honores petere cœpisset, quodque permulta essent ornamenta quibus eam molestiam mitigare posset, locus, auctoritas, domi splendor, apud exteras gentes nomen et gratia, toga prætexta, sella curulis, insignia, fasces, exercitus, imperia, provinciæ."

[3] Comp. Suet. *Oct.* 41., with Dion, liv. 17., and the annotations of the commentators. The ancient Roman law restricted the citizen's *property* in land to a few acres; and accordingly, though this sumptuary

capacity he ejected, as we have seen, the impoverished and the unworthy, and the appointments he made, as far as appears, were carefully selected. The emperors continued to exercise the appointment to the senate exclusively; but their practice became gradually laxer. The admission of provincials to the order was decried by many as a degradation; but more judicious observers remarked the advantage it derived from the greater simplicity of such members' tastes and the greater purity of their conduct.[1] But the provinces at least were proud of the "*right of senatorship*," which was thus formally conferred upon them, and rejoiced to be connected by a closer bond with the interests of their honoured mistress.[2]

Augustus decreed that the senate should assemble twice every month for the despatch of business, and required that at least four hundred members should be present at every sitting. In the sultry and pestilential months of September and October he released them from this fatiguing service, except only a smaller number chosen by lot, who were constrained still to meet on the stated days. There must have been a large amount of business, even under the empire, to occupy so many councillors so often and so constantly. The forms indeed of the republican legislation were for the most

Method of transacting business in the senate.

regulation was evaded by the *occupation* of unlimited tracts of public domain, the census or valuation of his estate regarded his personal effects also.

[1] Tac. *Ann.* iii. 85.

[2] These foreign senators were not only required to reside in Rome, but forbidden to revisit their native country, except it were Sicily or the Narbonensis, without special permission of the emperor. In the time of the younger Pliny candidates for office were compelled to devote a third part of their property to the acquisition of lands in Italy. "Now is the time to sell," he exclaimed to his correspondents, when Trajan promulgated this decree. "Scin' tu accessisse pretium agris, præcipue suburbanis? . . . si pœnitet te Italicorum prædiorum hoc vendendi tempus tam hercule quam in provinciis comparandi." Plin. *Ep.* vi. 19.

part observed: the consul or next superior magistrate, in his absence, proposed the question of the day; the opinions of the prince, the consulars, and the other past magistrates, were asked in order, and their votes were given by the ballot. The actual magistrates were forbidden to record their suffrages. Julius Cæsar had appointed in his consulship that the proceedings of the senate should be published, and these together with the acts of the popular assemblies and the principal events of the day were duly registered in the *acta diurna* or journal of the city. But publicity had no effect in eliciting the truth; it was meant rather to degrade the senators as the instruments of government, than to elevate the tone of public morality. Cæsar himself, and after him Antonius, had scandalously falsified the reports, and even affixed the names of absent senators to their decrees to give them more weight.[1] Augustus, we are told, forbade this publication: it is more probable that he merely exercised some discretion in the proceedings he allowed to be divulged.[2] The usage continued to exist, though it excited little interest or remark, to the latest periods of the empire; it is attested by the historians of the third century of our era, and by the preamble to the code of Theodosius in the fourth.[3]

[1] See the just complaints of Cicero in his letters, *ad Div.* ix. 15., xii. 1., and *Philipp.* v. 4.

[2] Suet. *Oct.* 35. Leclerc (*Journaux Romains*, p. 245.) supposes that the "acta temporum D. Augusti" referred to by Pliny (*H. N.* vii. 11.) are the record of the proceedings in the comitia, as distinguished from those of the senate. I rather think the term comprehends all the reports of public events promulgated in the official bulletin.

[3] See for instance the textual citations of Vopiscus from the proceedings of the senate at the election of the emperor Tacitus: Vopisc. *Tac.* 3. seq., and the "Gesta in Senatu P. R. in recipiendo codice Theodosiano." So usual was it to report the proceedings of the senate, that a resolution, the publication of which was withheld, was called a "Senatusconsultum tacitum:" see Capitolinus, *Gordian.* 12., who speaks of this as an ancient practice.

Among the most cherished instruments of government used by Augustus was the distribution of official business among the higher ranks of the citizens, especially the senators. He employed their industry in matters of petty interest, such as might exercise their abilities without stimulating their ambition. He taxed his invention to create new offices, in order, as he himself professed, that more persons might participate in the administration of affairs.[1] The provinces which remained under the control of the senate continued to be assigned by lot to consulars and prætorians, while the salutary laws which required a certain interval between the consulship and proconsulship were now for the first time really enforced. While however the substance of their authority dwindled away, the honours and distinctions of the senators sensibly increased. The laticlave or broad purple stripe along the edge of the toga, and the black sandals fitted with a silver crescent, constituted the badges of their order. The best places were allotted them in the theatre and the circus, and they banqueted in the Capitol at the public charge. The permission accorded in ancient times to the sons of senators to sit with their fathers in the assembly was revived, after long proscription, by the founder of the empire. With the disuse of the functions of the censorship, the senate, from an elected or nominated character, became eventually changed into an hereditary peerage. Such it had undoubtedly become in the fourth century of our era,[2] and it seems probable that the usage we have just noticed may have had some share in producing the innovation. The notion of hereditary right seems indeed to grow spontaneously under the rule of the one or the few.

Distinction of the senators.

[1] Suet. *Oct.* 41.: "Quo plures partem administrandæ reipublicæ caperent nova officia excogitavit." These offices will be specified in another place.

[2] *Cod. Theod.* vi. tit. 2. 8. (2.), xii. tit. 1. 58.

It was soon applied to the imperial succession; but vehement were the struggles and bloody the revolutions which occurred before that principle was fixed in the descent of the throne.

Claim of the senate to elect the emperors.

It would be premature to examine in this place the claims of the senate to appoint the successor to the sovereign power, which it continued to advance with more or less success through several centuries. After the disuse of the comitia of the curies, the senate seems to have represented that patrician assembly, as most akin to it in spirit and composition, and to have conferred the imperium upon the magistrates in the ancient form. The lex curiata or lex regia, by which this act was effected, became the legal instrument of the imperial appointment, and by this law, as we have already seen, the prerogatives and exemptions of the deceased emperor were solemnly transferred to his successor. By the same instrument the acts of the late ruler were duly confirmed, on no other principle than that by which the senate of the republic had ratified the proceedings of its imperators and proconsuls. We shall see in the sequel how the senate presumed, in virtue of these traditional functions, not only to confirm the appointment or succession of the emperors, but even when opportunity favoured, to elect them of its own free choice. Such a stretch of prerogative was hailed with acclamations by the people, and regarded as an assertion of the majesty of the law, though undoubtedly it was countenanced neither by law nor prescription. But it was at least a protest against the all-engrossing power of the prætorians and the legions, and if the people had been strong enough to control their own armies, it would have become the regular and appointed method of transmitting the imperial authority.

The equestrian order had struggled to wrest from the senate a share in the administration of the provinces, and the passions engendered by this rivalry

had rent the commonwealth asunder, while it armed the champions of revolution with their most effectual weapons. But when the oligarchy fell, the instruments of its overthrow gained nothing by the change. The spoils of the senate accrued to the emperor, and not to the knights. The equestrian order continued, as under the republic, to farm the revenues of the provinces, a business which they found more lucrative than the higher walks of government, shorn as they now were of their irregular emoluments. The knights retained their place among the classes from which the judges were selected; but this prerogative also, once so fiercely contested, had lost most of its charms with the checks imposed upon corruption. Nevertheless the caresses lavished upon them by the emperors, who rivalled in the arts of popular flattery the demagogues their predecessors, humoured their self-importance, and kept them contented. The knights, it was said, are the nursery of the senate: chosen themselves, under the powers of the censorship, from the noblest families of Rome, Italy, and the provinces, it was from among them that the vacancies in the higher order were supplied. The property required for the knights was one-third of that demanded of the senators. They were distinguished from the rest of the citizens by the decoration of the golden ring, and to the members of a superior class among them, the emperor, after the example of the ancient censors, presented a horse, as a symbol of military rank. From early times the distinction of knighthood had become hereditary in many families. Even the native of an obscure Italian town could boast that he inherited his rank through several generations.[1] But all the affection with which men regard an

Occupations and distinctions of the knights.

[1] Ovid, a native of Sulmo, could boast (*Trist.* iv. 10. 7.) that he was

"Usque a proavis vetus ordinis hæres."

honour derived from their progenitors, and all the panegyrics of Cicero and compliments of the emperors, which continued to soothe the ears of the knights of the empire, could not avail to maintain the dignity of the order against the overwhelming infusion of meaner blood, by which it was gradually swamped. Its respectability was assured by no limitation of number, and the favour of the emperors continued to make the cheap distinction still cheaper, till it lost almost all its attraction. In vain did an imperial decree command the knights to rank next *in dignity* to the nobility of the senate, at a time when the wearing a golden ring was conceded even to slaves upon manumission.[1]

III. Executive officers under the empire.

III. I pass on to the principal executive officers by whom the empire was administered, the same generally in name as under the commonwealth, the same in most of the outward ensigns of authority, and even in their ostensible functions; yet widely different in the source from which they derived their duties, and the spirit in which they accordingly fulfilled them.

The consuls.

When the emperor first took his seat between the consuls in the senate-house, he pretended to elevate himself as the most eminent of private citizens to a level with the highest and most honourable magistracy in the state. But the legitimate majesty of the consulship dwindled away with its substantial power, and the lustre he reflected as sovereign ruler upon his assessors on either hand, became in no long time the proudest distinction remaining to them. Augustus continued to transact the business of the senate through their agency. They were his eyes, his voice, and his hands; and the most wary of his successors persisted in the same

[1] Cod. xii. tit. 32.: "Equites Rom. secundum gradum post clarissimatus dignitatem obtinere *jubemus*:" after a constitution of Valentinian and Valens. Comp. Digest. xl. tit. 10. 1.

prudent and moderate policy.[1] The Romans allowed themselves to be deceived by the mere shadow of authority which was still thrown over this cherished magistracy, the earliest birth, and as they still fondly deemed, the latest pledge of their freedom. While they allowed its dignity to be prostituted, almost without a murmur, to the mere nominees of their actual rulers, while they acquiesced in its degradation by the process, which soon became habitual, of transferring it month by month or even at shorter intervals, from one imperial favourite to another, that it should be absolutely vacant, for however brief a space, shocked and distressed them, and it was cited among the gravest offences of the most wanton of their tyrants, that he deprived the state for three days of its supreme magistracy.[2] The extraordinary respect which the people still persisted in professing for this almost empty title encouraged the emperors to magnify its distinction as the most brilliant their omnipotence could confer. From the time of Tiberius they ceased to make even the show of an application for the sanction of the tribes or senate to their nominations. Neither political experience nor military service was required as a qualification. Ministers of the imperial household, who were generally freedmen of foreign extraction, rhetoricians and professors, men in short of any grade or character who might recommend themselves to the monarch by subserving his personal interests, were numbered among the recipients of his most shining favours.[3]

[1] Comp. Tac. *Ann.* i. 7.: "Cuncta Tiberius per consules incipiebat tanquam vetere republica et ambiguus imperandi."

[2] Suet. *Calig.* 26.: "Consulibus oblitis de natali suo edicere abrogavit magistratum, fuitque per triduum sine summâ potestate respublica."

[3] Juvenal, vii. 197.:

"Si fortuna volet, fies de rhetore consul;
Si volet hæc eadem, fies de consule rhetor:"

an epigram which we also meet with in Pliny, *Ep.* iv. 11., and

Even the consular ornaments, or personal insignia of the office, served to content the candidates for whom no room could be found on the curule chairs. These ensigns were the same which tradition ascribed to the kings of the infant state. The dignity of the consuls was marked by the wreath of laurel on their brow, the trabea or striped robe of white and purple, in which they performed the most august ceremonies of their national faith, and the guard of lictors bearing the axes and rods in token of their summary authority. Even in the decrepit ages of Byzantine autocracy the Roman consulship was still qualified as the noblest of human distinctions.[1] The year continued to be named after these magistrates down to the middle of the sixth century of our era.[2] Every citizen was required to make way for them, and even to dismount, on meeting them in the streets; and every other magistrate rose in their presence, and lowered the point of his fasces in acknowledgment of his own inferiority.

The prætors.

Besides presiding in the senate the consuls discharged some judicial duties, not perhaps very clearly defined or regularly administered. The prætors continued under the empire, as under the republic, to stand ostensibly at the summit of all civil and criminal jurisdiction. The city and foreign prætors, the chief commissioners of the board,

may have been derived by both writers from a common source: "Ex professoribus senatores, ex senatoribus professores."

[1] Julian, *Orat.* iii.: *τιμὴ καθ' αὑτὴν τῶν ἄλλων πάντων στερομένη πρὸς πᾶσαν ἰσχὺν ἀντίῤῥοπος εἶναι δοκεῖ.* Even at the moment of the dissolution of the western empire the Gothic historian Jornandes speaks of the consulship with admiration, as "Summum bonum primumque in mundo decus." De la Bleterie, *M. A. I.* t. xxiv.

[2] That is to the year 541, in the reign of Justinian. See Gibbon, *D. & F.* c. 40.; Procop. *Anecd.* 26. The emperors however still continued to assume the title of consul at their accession *pro formâ.* The last who is known to have borne it is Heraclius, on whose sole existing coin we read ERACΛIO CONSUΛI. Eckhel, *Doctr. Numm.* viii. 332.

continued to issue their edicts annually on their accession to office, and though forbidden to vary their own procedure from the canon they had themselves laid down, their successors were not found to conform to it until the institution of the prætorian code, or perpetual edict of Hadrian.[1] The number of which the prætors' college consisted fluctuated according to the caprice or policy of the emperors. Under the commonwealth it had been raised from two to eight. Cæsar had appointed as many as sixteen; but the Romans seem to have objected to the degradation of so high an office by this excessive extension, and Augustus reduced the number to twelve. His successor, Tiberius, raised it once more to the limits fixed by the dictator, but bound himself at the same time by a voluntary oath never to exceed them. Besides dispensing justice themselves in the tribunals, the prætors had the care of selecting judges for the trial of causes from the qualified orders. These, as under the latest institution of the republic, were the senate, the knights, and the ærarian tribunes: Augustus added a fourth class composed of citizens of inferior census, who were called *ducenarii*, as having a property of two hundred thousand sesterces, and such were deemed fit only to decide in cases of the most trifling importance.

The judices.

The censorship was extinguished in its ancient form from the year 730, and its most important duties were thenceforth discharged by the emperors themselves, at least to the time of Claudius, under the name of the prefecture of manners.[2] The quæstors and ædiles continued to exist under the monarchy; but the quæstors were subjected in the care of the treasury to the prætors'

The quæstors, ediles, and tribunes.

[1] The lex Cornelia, A.U. 687, compelled the prætor to abide by his own edict. Dion, xxxvi. 23.
[2] Dion, liii. 17., liv. 2.

control, to whom the judicial business of the ædiles was also transferred.[1] When the ædileship ceased to be a step to the consulate and proconsulate, it lost its attraction for the noblest and wealthiest of the senators, who no longer cared to contend for it in the Field of Mars, nor to dignify it with lavish expenditure in the circus. The fall of the tribunate might seem still more humiliating. The emperors, champions and representatives, as they professed themselves, of the people, shrank from abolishing the cherished symbol of popular independence. Some form of election was still retained; after the time of Augustus the senate may have supplied in this respect the place of the centuries; the right of veto on the proceedings of the senate was at least in theory allowed; and in the second century of the empire the sentence of the prætor might actually be stayed by the interposition of a tribune.[2] But the real exercise of its awful prerogatives, except perhaps in a few peculiar cases, was confined to the hands of the master of the Roman people, to whom nobles and commons equally bowed, whose power to enact and to forbid was in fact equally unlimited.

The prefect of the city.

The institution of the prefecture of the city must have dispelled any lingering delusions upon this subject. The Cæsar was embarrassed by the amplitude of the powers committed to him. While his own hand sufficed to wield them during his personal residence in the metropolis, he might hesitate to restore them, on occasion of his absence, to the various magistrates upon whose functions he had encroached. The experiment of abandoning the commonwealth to the control of its ancient officers had

[1] Dion, liii. 2.: Suet. *Oct.* 36.

[2] Compare Plin. *Epp.* i. 23., ix. 13. The attempt which certain of the tribunes made to extend their jurisdiction beyond the one mile limit was unsuccessful. Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 28.; Hoeck, *Gesch. des Röm. Reichs*, i. 1. 412.

demonstrated the need of a single central authority, and the commission with which Agrippa had been temporarily invested had proved both popular and successful. On the restoration of public tranquillity, Augustus seized the opportunity to perpetuate the instrument which had restored it. The ancient title of prefect of the city furnished him with a suitable republican appellation. Even in the time of the kings, such an officer, it was said, had been deputed to preside in the city during the sovereign's absence on the frontiers. But the consuls had been permitted to delegate their authority in a similar manner, until the creation of the prætorship provided them with a more regular substitute. Thenceforth the functions of the prefect had been confined to the special occasion of the celebration of the Latin feriæ, when he superseded even the highest ordinary magistrates, and convened the senate in the place of the consuls or tribunes.[1] Augustus breathed life and activity into this antiquated shadow. The prefect of the city became his most efficient executive minister, and his deputy for domestic appeals.[2] While himself present in Rome, he might limit this officer's functions to jurisdiction between masters and slaves, patrons and clients, wards and guardians, usurers and creditors; to the superintendence of the city police and the general care of the public tranquillity; but whenever the emperor abandoned the helm of state, the duties of the prefect swelled to still ampler dimensions; he was empowered to forbid access to Rome to any citizen he might deem disaffected, and even to deport him for safe custody to an island. His direct superintendence reached one hundred miles every way from the city. Augustus was careful to select the most illustrious personages to confer splendour upon

[1] Aul. Gell. xiv in fin.
[2] Suet. *Oct.* 33.: "Appellationes urbanorum litigatorum præfecto delegavit urbis."

an office so conspicuous. The first of his prefects was Messala, who had refreshed his republican laurels with triumphs gained under the imperial auspices; and when the friend of Brutus and Cassius renounced the charge as too harshly opposed to public freedom, it was bestowed upon Statilius Taurus. Thenceforth the emperors professed to make the prefecture the last and highest step in the career of civil honours, though occasions were not wanting in which it was sullied by the appointment of the basest of their creatures.[1]

Extension of municipal offices.

It was the policy of the emperors, first devised by the prudence of Augustus, to extend and multiply the functions of the Roman municipality. Mæcenas, it was said, had counselled his master to furnish public occupation to as many of the citizens as possible, in order to attach them to the government by interest, and at the same time give them experience in affairs. To divert their restless energies into safe and useful channels might be deemed of no less importance. But the time had in fact arrived when the vast amount of civil business required more regular and systematic management; when the complexity of public affairs had outgrown the simple agency of independent administration. The Romans had arrived at the era of centralization, and it was no longer possible to leave to private zeal or munificence the care of their most important and pressing interests. Accordingly, from henceforth the irregular vigour of individual enterprise was superseded by the organized industry of boards and commis-

[1] See the pretended advice of Mæcenas in Dion, lii. 26. 37. The same counseller is there made to recommend the appointment of the emperor's freedmen to the highest stations, as a measure of security; a suggestion which faithfully represents the practice of the later Cæsars, but was repugnant to the spirit of the selections made by Augustus. Statilius was succeeded in the prefecture by L. Piso. Tac. *Ann.* vi. 10.

sions. The care of the public buildings furnished occupation for one body of commissioners; the charge of the roads, of the aqueducts, of the navigation of the Tiber, of the distribution of grain, of senatorial and equestrian scrutinies, for several more.[1] It may be presumed that these various services were compensated from an early period by fixed salaries, and the government strengthened by the expedient, so commonly applied in modern times, of retaining in its pay a host of interested officials. The history indeed of official remuneration is an obscure one. It was the first principle of the ancient free-states that public service should be esteemed an honour and not a burden. The generous citizen strained every nerve to compete for the glorious privilege of lavishing his substance for his country's advantage. But if such was the theory, more vulgar interests were found to operate practically. At one time the administration of office furnished many sources of irregular emolument; at another the state itself compelled the services of reluctant citizens, and exacted from them not only the labour of their heads or hands, but ample pecuniary contributions also. The regular payment of fixed salaries, at least to the higher class of civil administrators, was unknown perhaps in Rome until the time of Augustus, nor indeed can it be clearly traced even to that era. Undoubtedly the chief magistrates continued throughout the imperial period to serve without official remuneration, and the system of municipal administration in the provinces was strictly moulded, in this as in many other respects, upon the metropolitan model. The burden of municipal office became, in the general impoverishment of later ages, odious and intolerable. The legislation of the emperors teems with notices

[1] Suet. *Oct.* 41.

of the desperate efforts their subjects made to escape from it. It may be doubted indeed whether Augustus himself introduced the payment even of such inferior offices as have been just described; but we may fairly presume, from the advice attributed by Dion to Mæcenas, that such was the established practice at least in the second century.

Official payment of salaries.

The term *salary* itself is derived, as is well known, from the composition made by the state for the provision, or, as its simplest element, the salt of the proconsuls, who governed the provinces in its behalf.[1] Some capitalist of the city, or the province itself, generally a Roman knight, undertook, for the consideration of an allowance from the treasury, or more commonly perhaps of the proceeds of a local toll or tribute, to supply the table, the attendance, the public expenditure in games and spectacles of the governor throughout his term of office. The farmer of the salary made his own profit out of this bargain; but the proconsul was not humiliated by touching the money of the state; his emoluments were derived from other and doubtless far less reputable sources. But thus, at least under the free-state, the principle of public service was preserved intact.[2] Augustus introduced a more convenient arrangement, which was meant, we may presume, to operate as a safeguard to the interests of the provincials. Henceforth the proconsul was to farm his own salary. The sum supplied to him was still nominally assigned for the maintenance of his state; but he was

[1] Strictly speaking, *vasarium* is the proconsul's outfit on going to his province, *salarium* the composition for his expenses in it.

[2] It should be observed, however, that the provinces were required to furnish the proconsuls with a certain amount of corn at a low price (*frumentum æstimatum*); and that few of these governors refrained from accepting an additional gratuity under the title of *frumentum honorarium*. See Cic. *in Pison.* 35. Here was a wide opening for extortion.

not required to account to his employers for the surplus he might extract from it by judicious economy. We may trace in this new arrangement a curious step in the direction of regular official payment, and of the clearer and perhaps purer ideas of official duty connected with it.

Payment of the proconsuls.

Public service has thus its three stages. In the first the expense and burden are compensated by the honour or indirect advantage: in the second it is furnished with a salary or provision for the liquidation of its contingent charges: in the third it is directly requited by so much wages for duties performed. Under the imperial government these wages were sometimes paid in money, and sometimes partly in the maintenance by the state of the equipage suitable to the appointment.[1] Remuneration by fees, so common a feature in the public economy of modern times, seems to be the resource of governments which, having no fixed revenues of their own, cannot undertake to defray regular salaries from a fluctuating public income.

[1] Lamprid. *Alex. Sev.* 42. The enumeration of the objects provided is trifling and ludicrous from its minuteness and at the same time its meagreness. The proconsul was required to restore on the cession of his province the pair of horses, pair of mules, the single cook and single muleteer which had been furnished him. This edict of Alexander Severus may be compared with the far more liberal allowances made in certain instances mentioned in the Hist. Aug. Scr. *Claud.* 15., *Prob.* 4. Our curiosity to learn the ordinary amount of the proconsul's salary is completely at fault. The allowances above mentioned refer to special cases. At the beginning of the third century the governors of Asia and Africa seem to have received a million sesterces, about 8000*l.* Dion. lxxviii. 22. The procurators in the imperial, who corresponded to the quæstors in the senatorial provinces, were arranged in classes, called *ducenarii*, *centenarii*, or *sexagenarii*, according as they received 200,000, 100,000, or 60,000 sesterces (1600*l.*, 800*l.*, 480*l.*). Dion. liii. 15.; Capitol. *Pertin.* 2. The sum which Piso claimed for his *vasarium*, when he went into Macedonia, was *centies octogies* = 144,000*l.* Cic. *in Pison.* 15. This large sum may have been meant to defray the whole expense of the proconsul's retinue, and perhaps to cover some military charges also.

But the governors of the Roman province were allowed to demand certain honorary emoluments. The principle that the proconsul's table should be maintained by the province or city in which he sojourned gave occasion for certain arbitrary requisitions of corn, commuted no doubt for money, which in the third century were found to require the direct interference of the emperor. Severus and Caracalla affected to regulate, with *elegance* perhaps, but certainly with little precision, the measure of the gratuities which might be expected from a decorous hospitality: as regards such compliments, they said, it is barbarous to refuse them altogether, but indecent to accept everything that is offered everywhere, and from everybody.[1] But with this important and vague exception, the acceptance of presents from the provincials was ostentatiously forbidden.

Office of the proconsuls.

Nevertheless, although the presence of a proconsul with a numerous retinue was a considerable burden to the province in which he resided, the show and splendour of his court caused an outlay which seems to have been universally regarded as an important element in its economical prosperity. The entertainments he dispensed attracted great numbers to the immediate sphere of his lavish expenditure; and the cities through which he was accustomed to make his progress, claimed and extorted an imperial decree to forbid him to vary the route by which he reached his destination. Thus we find, for instance,

[1] Dig. i. tit. 16. 6. 3.: "Nec vero in totum xeniis debet abstinere proconsul sed modum adjicere, ut neque morose in totum abstineat, neque avare modum xeniorum excedat. Quam rem divus Severus et imp. Antoninus *elegantissime* epistola sunt moderati, cujus epistolæ verba hæc sunt: quantum ad xenia pertinet audi quid sentimus. Vetus proverbium est, *οὔτε πάντα, οὔτε παντότε, οὔτε παρὰ πάντων*. . . Et quod mandatis continetur, ne donum vel munus ipse proconsul accipiat . . . . ad xeniola non pertinet, sed ad ea quæ edulium excedant usum." This title of the Digest is taken from a treatise of Ulpian, *de Officio Proconsulis*, circ. A. D. 210.

that the province of Asia demanded that its governor should arrive, not by the way of the Hellespont, but always by sea from Greece or Italy, and make his first halt at Ephesus.[1] The proconsul indeed was sent abroad to hold a mimic court, and reflect an image of the magnificence as well as the majesty of the conquering republic. He received, at least in the frontier provinces, a numerous army from the hands of his predecessor,[2] and during the term of his office he directed all his movements with no superior control, only with the risk of his acts being disavowed by the senate at the instance of some political opponent. Nor did such a disavowal bring with it any other inconvenience than the consequent rejection of his claim to the honours of a supplication or a triumph. In the summer, as long as there were any active enemies within or beyond his borders, he generally employed himself in military operations. In the winter he resorted successively to the principal cities of his government, which were designated by the title of *conventus*, as the central spots to which all the public business of the surrounding districts was brought for his adjustment. The proconsul exercised the full military imperium not only over the enlisted soldiers, but over the whole body of the provincials, whom from the force of old associations the republic could not learn to regard in any other light than as her conquered enemies, requiring the

[1] Dig. i. tit. 16. 4, 5.: "Quædam provinciæ etiam hoc habent, ut per mare in eas proconsul veniat, ut Asia scilicet . . . . proconsuli necessitatem impositam τῶν μητροπολέων Ἔφεσον attingere . . . . . Magni enim faciunt provinciales servari sibi consuetudinem istam et hujusmodi prærogativas." Cicero came to Ephesus on his way to Cilicia, and the younger Pliny on his way to Bithynia, *Ep*. x. 17. Cicero charges it as a crime on Vatinius that he did not take the prescribed route: *in Vat*. 5.

[2] Under the republic a proconsul could sometimes venture to baulk his successor by disbanding the legions and rifling the magazines before his arrival. See the story of Metellus in Val. Max. ix. 3. 7.

constant coercion of the sword. He also presided in the tribunals, and issued an edict, at the commencement of his career, like that of the prætors, by which he bound himself to administer justice. The claims of the usurer and the tax-gatherer constituted perhaps the most pressing matters for his adjudication. By means of his quæstors he raised the tributes and tolls demanded by the state; he was attended by a host of secretaries, notaries, heralds, lictors, physicians and augurs;[1] his train or *cohort* was swelled by a number of young nobles, aspirants to place and favour, who were sent by their friends to receive under his auspices their first initiation in the mysteries of public service. As long as the strict law of the republic was enforced, which limited the tenure of provincial government to a single year, the proconsul was forbidden to take his wife with him on his foreign mission, which was regarded rather in the light of a campaign than of a civil employment. But when that restriction was relaxed, and the proconsulate extended, as was usual under the emperors, to five or even more years, this rigid military abstinence was no longer enforced. The cupidity and licentiousness of the women, who now followed their husbands to the provinces, gave occasion for just complaint, and the question of restoring the ancient discipline was agitated in the senate on a memorable occasion.[2] It was then determined, not unwisely, perhaps, that the balance of evil inclined on the other side; and the indulgent decree of a later period, which allotted to an unmarried officer a special sum for the maintenance of a concubine, consulted perhaps the domestic happiness of the provincials rather than the comfort, as it

[1] Cic. II. *in Verr.* ii. 10.: "Comites illi tui delecti manus erant tuæ; præfecti, scribæ, medici, accensi, haruspices, præcones manus erant tuæ."

[2] Tac. *Ann.* iii. 32. Comp. Juvenal, viii. 129.

pretended, of the officer, himself.[1] But though the military commander was supreme in the province, his concern did not descend to the control of all its internal arrangements. While the proconsul and his retinue were regularly sent from Rome to maintain obedience and enforce the public dues, the subjects of the state were permitted to retain something more than the shadow of domestic government. The Roman colonies enjoyed a municipal constitution, administered by a senate and officers of their own appointment; and this local arrangement was gradually extended under the first emperors to the provincial cities generally. The duumvirs of the foreign community corresponded to the consuls, the decurions to the senate of Rome; their duties were confined for the most part to devising and executing regulations of police, levying contributions for local purposes, and deciding suits of small amount. These functionaries enjoyed various important immunities; they were relieved from liability to military service, and exempted from torture and corporal punishment. Two members of each decuria were sent to Rome to watch over the interests of their constituents at the centre of government. The decurions were permitted to farm the local revenues for the state; but in the decline of the empire this privilege ceased to be a source of emolument; they were made personally chargeable by the governors with the amount of the local taxation, and the honour of their office degenerated into an intolerable burden. In the decay of society and civilization this institution had no effect in keeping alive any sentiments of patriotism or independence; but it fostered undoubtedly a mechanical aptitude

Municipal institutions in the provinces.

[1] Lamprid. *Alex. Sev.* 42.: "Si uxores non haberent, singulas concubinas, quod sine his esse non possent." But Ulpian pronounced it expedient that wives should not accompany their husbands.

for self-government, which survived the crisis of the barbarian invasions.

Division of the provinces into imperial and senatorial.

The division of the provinces into imperial and senatorial made by Augustus was no abrupt innovation, but only a modification of an arrangement previously existing. Under the early republic the provinces had generally been governed by proprætors, and it was only on the occurrence of a particular emergency that one of the consuls, or a consular, was sent with the title of proconsul, to take the command. Hence arose a distinction between the more tranquil provinces, which were ordinarily prætorian, and those in which large armies were maintained, to which was assigned the designation of proconsular. The emperor was glad to build upon these legitimate foundations. His proconsular *potestas* gave him special authority on every frontier of the empire, and in every district where the temper of the natives themselves required the control of a strong military force. The officers whom he appointed to take charge of these provinces were strictly his military lieutenants; he selected them from any rank and order of the state, and as they were seldom consulars they did not obtain as a class the title of proconsuls. On the other hand the senate, acting on the part of the sovereign people, generally selected its highest magistrates for the government of its own provinces: its governors held superior rank, and received perhaps ampler salaries than those of the emperor's appointment; and they were distinguished by a retinue of twelve lictors, while their rivals were required to content themselves with half that number. Nevertheless while Augustus resigned one half of his vast dominions to the direct control of the senate and people, he continued to watch with considerable jealousy over the exercise of this co-ordinate power, and claimed eventually the right of intruding even

into the senatorial provinces a legatus of his own to curb the independence of the proconsul. In one or two cases, when a senatorial province assumed a greater political importance, he negotiated an exchange with its patrons; and his successors ultimately engrossed the whole of the appointments, and united the entire Roman empire under their undisputed sway. Dependent and tributary potentates were uniformly subjected to the supervision of the imperial officers.[1]

IV. Establishment of a standing army.

IV. The permanent institution of the emperor's proconsular authority naturally led to the perpetuation of the military establishment, or, in modern phrase, the standing army of the empire. Originally, the legions had been raised for special services, and disbanded at the conclusion of each campaign. When the wars of the republic came to be waged at a greater distance from the city, and against the regular armies of Greek or Asiatic potentates, the proconsular levies were enrolled for the whole period of the contest in hand. In ancient times Rome secured every petty conquest by planting in the centre of each conquered territory a colony of her own citizens; but when her enemies became more numerous, and her frontiers more extensive, it was necessary to maintain her communications in every quarter by military posts, and the establishment of permanent garrisons. The troops once enlisted for the war could no longer be discharged on the restoration of peace. The return of their imperator to the enjoyment of his laurels in the city only brought another imperator, whose laurels were yet to be acquired, to the legions of the Rhine and the Euphrates. The great armies of the provinces were transferred, with the plate and furniture of the prætorium, the baggage and materials

[1] Strabo, xvii. in fin.

of the camp, from each proconsul to his successor. The legions came to be distinguished by certain numbers, indicating the order of their enlistment in the eastern or western division of the empire respectively, or by special designations of honour, such as the *Martia*, or the *Victrix*. With their names or numbers the particular history of each was duly recorded, and some of them became noted perhaps for a peculiar character and physiognomy of their own. The principle of permanence thus established to his hand, Augustus carried it out systematically, and extended it from the provinces to Rome itself.

The emperor's body-guard, and garrison of the city.

He instituted a special service for the protection of his own person, in imitation of the select battalion which kept watch round the imperator's tent. These prætorian guards were gratified with double pay, amounting to two denarii daily,[1] and the prospect of discharge at the end of twelve years, while the term of service for the legionaries was fixed at sixteen.[2] They were recruited from Latium, Etruria, Umbria, and the old Roman colonies of central Italy exclusively. They were regarded accordingly as a force peculiarly national, nor when reminded of this distinction were they insensible of the compliment.[3] But the emperor did not entrust his security to the Italian troops only. Besides the prætorian cohorts he kept about his person a corps of picked veterans from the legions, a few hundreds in number, together with a battalion

[1] These soldiers received nominally twenty ases, but in reality two denarii, which at this period were actually equal to thirty-two ases. Plin. *H. N.* xxxiii. 13.

[2] There is a discrepancy on this point between Tacitus and Dion. Augustus probably fixed the prætorian's term at sixteen years, which was afterwards reduced to twelve, when the former length of service was required of the legionaries. Comp. Tac. *Ann.* i. 17.; Dion, lv. 23.

[3] Tac. *Hist.* i. 84. Otho addresses them as "Italiæ alumni et Romana vere juventus."

of German foot soldiers, and a squadron of Batavian horse.[1] Cæsar had employed these barbarians, distinguished for their personal strength and courage, on the wings of his own armies, and his successor may have placed his confidence in them on account of their tried fidelity. In addition, however, to these household troops, the whole number of which did not exceed five or six thousand, Augustus first introduced a regular garrison into the city, consisting of four cohorts of fifteen hundred men each, which were also levied exclusively in Italy.[2] He established no permanent camp or fortress to overawe the capital. The soldiers were billeted on the inhabitants, or lodged in the public edifices: they were always at hand to repress tumults and preserve the peace of the city, when the stores of grain ran low, and the prevalence of tempests on the coast menaced it with prolonged scarcity. But the ordinary police of the streets was maintained by an urban guard, named *Vigiles* or the Watch, seven hundred of whom sufficed for the service. The whole armed force of every description employed in the city might amount to twelve or fifteen thousand men.

Pay and length of service of the legionaries.

Augustus disbanded the unruly multitudes who had crowded into the service of the great military chieftains of the civil wars. He strained every nerve to gorge them with the largesses, for which alone they would forego the periodical plunder of unoffending cities, in which their leaders had been compelled to indulge them. But while they were reposing upon their estates, or rioting with their profuse gratuities, he speedily remodelled his military establishment, and equipped a force of twenty-five legions for the defence of the empire.[3] He fixed a reasonable scale of pay for

[1] Suet. *Oct.* 49.; Dion, lv. 24.
[2] Tac. *Ann.* iv. 5.; *Hist.* iii. 64.; Dion. *l. c.*
[3] This was the number of the legions in the reign of the third of

every armed man in his service, from the rank and file of the cohorts to the *lieutenant of the emperor with proconsular rank.* The proconsular armies were maintained and paid by the machinery of the government in the provinces; so that the emperor, without being ostensibly the paymaster of the legions, did in fact, through his lieutenants, hold the purse upon which they depended. We have seen how incompetent we are to state the salary of the provincial governor, nor can we estimate the pay of the various grades of officers. We only know that the simple legionary received one denarius daily, a sum which may equal eight pence half-penny of our money. A part of this sum was stopped for his arms, implements, and accoutrements; but he retained perhaps a larger proportion of it than the pocket money of the British private, and the simple luxuries of the wine shop were cheap and accessible. Marriage was strongly discouraged, and generally forbidden in the Roman ranks, and the soldier's allowance was perhaps chiefly expended in averting the blows of the centurion's vine-staff, and buying occasional exemption from the fatigues of drill and camp duty.[1] If we are justified in drawing an inference from the proportion observed in a military

the Cæsars, Tiberius. Tac. *Ann.* iv. 5. It would be premature to specify here the disposition of this force in the various provinces as it stood at the period referred to by the historian.

[1] Tacitus gives us a curious glimpse of Roman camp-life in his account of the sedition of the Pannonian legions, A. U. 767 (*Ann.* i. 16. seqq.). The soldiers complained of the postponement of their discharge, the irregularity of their pay, the charges made upon it for arms and equipments, and the intolerable severity of their petty officers. The prohibition of marriage is expressly affirmed by Dion, lx. 24. Comp. Herodian, iii. 25.; Tertull. *Exh. Castit.* 12., but this restriction must not be understood to apply to the superior officers. There are also some passages in Livy which can hardly be reconciled with a constant and entire prohibition. Women were strictly forbidden to follow the army or enter the camp. See Lipsius, *de Milit. Rom.* v. 18. This regulation seems to have been relaxed in later times. See Cod. v. 16.

largess in the time of Cæsar, we may conjecture that the centurion received double, and the tribune four times, the pay of the legionary.[1]

The full complement of each of the twenty-five legions was six thousand one hundred foot, and seven hundred and twenty-six horse; and this continued, with occasional variations, to be the strength of the legion for a period of four hundred years.[2] The cohorts were ten in number; and the first, to which the defence of the eagle and the emperor's image was consigned, was nearly double the strength of the others. These brigades became permanently attached to their distant quarters: in later times the same three legions occupied the province of Britain for two or more centuries. They were recruited ordinarily from the countries beyond Italy; in the first instance, from the Roman citizens in the provinces. But even while the rights of citizenship were extended, this restriction was gradually relaxed; and instead of being the requisite qualification for admission to the ranks, the freedom of the city was often bestowed on the veteran upon his discharge. Numerous battalions of auxiliaries, differently arrayed and equipped from the legionaries themselves, continued to be levied throughout the most warlike dependencies of the empire, and attached to each legionary division.[3]

Numbers of the imperial military establishment.

[1] Lipsius, *de Mil. Rom.* v. 16. But compare Juvenal, iii. 132.:

"Quantum in legione tribuni
Accipiunt donat Calvinæ vel Catienæ;"

and Pliny, *H.N.* xxxiv. 6.: "Nec pudet (candelabra Æginetica) tribunorum militarium salariis emere." The tribune's pay, according to the estimate in the text, would amount to about 50*l.* a year; much less, I should imagine, than the sums thus loosely indicated.

[2] See Vegetius, ii. 6., who wrote under Valentinian, and describes the legion as it had existed from ancient times down to his own days. But its numbers fluctuated considerably during this interval.

[3] Tac. *Ann.* iv. 5.

It is generally computed that this force equalled in number that of the legions themselves, and thus we arrive at a total of 340,000 men, for the entire armies of the Roman empire, exclusive of the battalions maintained in Rome herself.

Augustus may be regarded as the founder of the naval power of the great military republic. She had exerted indeed her accustomed vigour on more than one occasion in equipping powerful fleets, in transporting military armaments, and sweeping marauders from the seas; but the establishment of a permanent maritime force, as one arm of the imperial government, was reserved for the same hand which was destined to fix the peace of the empire on a firm and lasting basis. While the influence of Rome extended over every creek and harbour of the Mediterranean, she had no rival to fear on the more distant coasts of the Atlantic or the Indian ocean. But experience had shown that the germ of a great naval power still continued to exist in the inveterate habits of piracy, fostered throughout the inland seas by centuries of political commotion. The Cilician corsairs had distressed the commerce and insulted the officers of the republic: the armaments of Sextus had taken a bolder flight and menaced even the city with famine: a conjuncture might not be distant when the commander of these predatory flotillas would dispute the empire itself with the imperator of the Roman armies. Augustus provided against the hazard of such an encounter by equipping three powerful fleets. One of these he stationed at Ravenna on the upper, a second at Misenum on the lower sea, a third at Forum Julii (Frejus) on the coast of Gaul. The two former squadrons amounted to two hundred and fifty galleys each, the third to about half that number. Besides these armaments he posted a smaller flotilla on the Euxine, and established naval

Marine establishment.

stations on the great frontier rivers, the Euphrates, the Danube, and the Rhine.[1]

V. The finances. Objects of public expenditure under the commonwealth.

V. Under the republic, especially in its earlier period, the objects of public expenditure were extremely few and simple. The scanty supply of coined money which circulated from hand to hand, no less than the simple ideas of the primitive economists, combined to throw, for the most part, upon private persons the charges which under more refined systems of government are generally defrayed from the revenue of the state. We have seen how throughout the civil departments of administration, service, at least in the higher grades of office, was rendered gratuitously. On the same principle it was at first regarded as the citizen's duty to fight his country's battles without pay, and even to provide himself with his arms and accoutrements. As long at least as he was on actual duty on foreign soil, the warrior of the republic was maintained by exactions levied upon the enemy himself. It was not often that he was compelled to fight within his own frontiers: under such disastrous circumstances the state, we may suppose, provided for him the simple fare requisite for his sustenance; and the tributes of conquered lands, paid, for the most part, in produce, were convenient for this purpose. The charge of the public worship was defrayed probably at first by spontaneous offerings, and afterwards by special endowments. The erection of the national temples was generally the pious and popular undertaking of the wealthiest and most illustrious nobles, who had acquired perhaps a large share of the booty of successful wars: the same source defrayed the cost of the great military ways which were known by the name of the

[1] Tac. *Ann.* iv. 5.; *Hist.* iii. 46.; Strab. iv. 1.; Suet *Oct.* 49.

chiefs who constructed them. The charge of the public amusements was among the honourable burdens of political life. In short, look where we will through the various departments of public expenditure, as they appear on the balance sheet of a modern commonwealth, it is difficult to find any one which constituted a permanent burden upon the revenue of the state, according to the primitive usage of the Roman republic. But in process of time great innovations took place in the character of military service. From the middle of the fourth century of the city, the soldier received daily pay during the short continuance of his annual campaigns.[1] At a later period the large armies which were kept up almost on a footing of permanence even in Italy, and the immediate neighbourhood of Rome itself, required a constant and heavy outlay for their bare maintenance. The civil charges of the commonwealth became at the same time more extensive and systematic: while the heads of departments, the consuls, prætors, and other high magistrates, continued to act gratuitously, the vast increase in public business was doubtless sustained by a host of clerks and inferior officers, who demanded regular remuneration. The state maintained an army of slaves in the public works and bureaux, whom it was necessary to feed and clothe at the common cost, though their duties were of course compulsory. All this administrative system received its full development under the new regime of Augustus. From his time we may observe that the government had to provide resources to defray a constant expenditure under the following general

[1] We are expressly assured that the Roman legionary first received pay in the year U.C. 347, Liv. iv. 59.: "Additum deinde ut stipendium miles de publico acciperet, quum ante id tempus de suo quisque functus eo munere esset." I cannot consent with Niebuhr (*Rom. Hist.* ii. 438. Eng. trans.) to reject this explicit statement.

heads: 1. Military charges, including the pay and maintenance of the soldiers, arms and implements, ships and fortifications: 2. Civil service; *i.e.* salaries of officers of justice, of revenue, and of administration: 3. Public works, embracing also the shows and entertainments for the people: 4. Corn for cheap or gratuitous distribution to the populace of the cities. I know not how far ingenuity might be carried in casting up the probable amount of these various items of the imperial budget; or what analogies might be discovered to assist the investigation in the practice of modern communities[1]: but a single consideration is sufficient to discourage any attempt of the kind; for we must remember that all these burdens were partly imperial and partly local; so that it is obviously impossible to form any approximate estimate of the annual claims on the metropolitan treasury.

Sources of revenue. 1. The public domains.

Light as were the burdens of the state in the early ages of the republic, recourse was had to more than one source of revenue to defray them. These consisted of, 1. the public domain, a reserved portion of all conquered territory, the entire produce of which was claimed by the state as landholder. Ample as this patrimony might seem to be as soon as the tide of conquest began to set in steadily, and maintained as it was by increasing conquests, it became in fact early exhausted. Immense portions of it were transferred to the colonies, and tract after tract was virtually alienated to

[1] Dureau de la Malle (i. 142.) has attempted a comparison between the cost of the French and Roman armies. It seems that under Napoleon the entire military charge averaged 1000 francs per man, and under Louis-Philippe, that is, in time of peace, about 750 francs yearly, equivalent to 40*l.* and 30*l.* of our money. At the same rates the establishment of Augustus might cost from ten to fourteen millions sterling. The military machines of the Roman armies may be fairly set in point of expense against modern artillery. Doubtless a large portion of this sum was charged upon the provincial revenues.

private lessees. The agrarian laws of the tribunes swept away vast territories, and the enactment of Spurius Thorius in the year 642 abolished even the trifling or nominal rent-charge which the state still received upon them in acknowledgment of its real dominion.[1] Finally, Cæsar in his consulship despoiled the republic of the territory of Campania, the last portion of public domain then remaining in the occupation of the state itself.[2] The old system of claiming possession of all conquered lands seems to have been thenceforth abandoned. The patrimony of the Gauls, for instance, appears to have been restored to them, subject, as will be seen, to a land-tax imposed upon a different footing.

2. The tributum.

2. There was a direct contribution (*tributum*) levied upon the Roman citizens themselves, according to the value of their property, as estimated in the periodical census of the people. When they had land, the tribute was levied upon the land; when their possessions were limited to personal effects, the assessment was transferred to them. The conquest of Macedonia, A. U. 584, brought a considerable mass of treasure to the coffers of the state, and opened the prospect of fresh resources; the government now ventured to remit this contribution altogether, or at least to relieve from it the landed possessions of citizens throughout Italy.[3]

3. The capitatio.

3. The contributions from which the soil of Italy, and therewith all lands beyond the sea which enjoyed Italian privileges, were thence-

[1] Cic. *Brut.* 36., *de Orat.* ii. 70.

[2] Dureau de la Malle, *Econ. Polit. des Romains*, ii. 430.

[3] Plutarch, *Æmil. Paul.* 38.; Cic. *de Off.* ii. 22. See vol. iii. p. 170, note. The question whether this tribute was reimposed in the time of Octavius, as asserted by Plutarch, is still debated. I am satisfied with Savigny's refutation. (See his *Röm. Steuerverfassung* with the additional remarks, 1822 and 1849, *Vermischte Schriften*, i., in opposition to Walter, who still maintains the affirmative. *Röm. Recht.* p. 247 of the first edition.)

forth exempted, continued to press upon the provinces. Under the empire the principal source of public revenue was the direct capitation, which comprehended both a land and a poll tax. Throughout the provinces every subject who possessed land was assessed thereupon at the rate generally of ten per cent. on the annual produce in grain, and at five per cent. on that of wine, oil, and fruits.[1] For the purposes of revenue the whole soil of the province was divided into portions, designated as *capita*, heads, of the estimated value of one thousand *solidi*, and in one such fiscal unit several small properties might be combined.[2] On the other hand, a single property might of course be divided into several capita.[3]

The poll-tax.

4. The classes which possessed no landed property paid upon their personal effects: in the case of mere labourers and even slaves, who had no property of any kind, the capitation assumed the form of a direct poll-tax, which was paid for them by their employers or masters, who were supposed to indemnify themselves by a deduction from their wages, or the use of their manual service.

[1] This proportion seems enormous, but the rate was probably commuted in reality, for the convenience of all parties, very much below its actual value.

[2] Jus Civ. ante Justin. Nov. xcii. tit. 13.: "Sed et binos per *jugum* vel *millenos solidos* remunerationibus deputandos." The solidus or aureus is computed equivalent in weight of gold to twenty-one shillings one penny English money. This passage has only recently been noticed. See Dureau de la Malle, i. 304.; Savigny, *Vermischte Schr.* i. 174. Comp. Nov. xlii. tit. 3., and Cassiodor. *Variar.* ii. 38. This division into capita lasted to a late period of the empire, but the date of its institution is not known. An important passage regarding the number of these capita is in Eumenius, *Grat. Act. in Constant.* 11. But its meaning has been grievously, and as it seems to me unaccountably, mistaken by Gibbon (c. 17.) and others.

[3] Hence the enigmatical lines of Sidonius Apollinaris, addressing the emperor:

"Geryones nos esse puta, monstrumque tributum;
Hinc capita, ut vivam, tu, mihi tolle tria."

Mode of payment, partly in money; partly in produce.

The direct revenue derived from these imposts was levied in various ways. In many parts of the empire it was most convenient to make the payment in kind, and the government was long in the habit of accepting large consignments of corn and other raw produce in place of current coin. These abundant stocks of provisions never wanted consumers while the armies of the republic were to be maintained on Roman soil, and the urban populace, we may believe, was always ready to receive the overflowings of the fiscal granaries, whether the government chose to dole them out at a cheaper rate, or to dispense them gratuitously. We may conjecture that the fatal institution of regular distributions of grain originated in this source. The revenues of the state could only be paid in kind, and the ample stocks thus received must sometimes either be given or thrown away. But these occasional largesses would doubtless operate to discourage husbandry within the narrow limits of the lands to which Rome was the natural market; and accordingly we find that even in the first ages of the republic the produce of the country round Rome constantly proved inadequate to supply the population of the city. Commissions were repeatedly appointed to bring grain from more distant parts, from the territory of the Etrurians and Volscians, from Campania and from Sicily.[1] Even in much later times many of the most fertile provinces, such as Sicily, Sardinia, Spain and Africa, continued to make their payments to the treasury in raw produce. Egypt, on account of its superior abundance, was mulcted in two tenths of its annual harvest. But in other parts of the empire the publicani farmed the

[1] See for instance Liv. ii. 9.: "Ad frumentum comparandum, missi alii in Volscos, alii Cumas:" ii. 34. "dimissis ad frumentum coemendum non in Etruriam modo . . . . sed quæsitum in Siciliam quoque."

state revenues for a sum of money, which they raised in advance from the bankers and usurers of the capital. With the advance of civilization this annual payment of a tithe of the produce was found to be an obstacle to improvement, and a heavy burden upon industry. The provinces complained of the mode in which it was still generally levied, and were anxious to make their contributions in money. The policy of Augustus was steadily directed to effecting this arrangement. The construction of the great map of the empire by Agrippa was the basis of his financial operations. His surveyors measured and valued the soil of the provinces, and divided it into several classes, according to its capacity of bearing fiscal burdens.[1] The census which he instituted in Gaul and Palestine was in all probability connected with these new arrangements.[2] But while he still retained the payment in kind from some of the provinces, such as Africa and Egypt, for the special object of supplying the capital with corn, he changed the character of the impost from a tithe of the produce to a fixed rent-charge upon the estimated value of the soil.[3] In the decline of the prosperity of the empire, when cultivation fell again into decay, it may be presumed that this change from a variable to a fixed contribution was felt to be oppressive to the cultivator.

[1] Hyginus, *de Limit. Constit.* (apud Goes, *Script. Rei Agr.* p. 198.): "Agri vectigales multas habent constitutiones. In quibusdam provinciis fructus partem constitutam præstant: alii quintas, alii septimas; nunc multi pecuniam, et hoc per soli æstimationem. Certa enim pretia agris constituta sunt, ut in Pannonia arvi primi, arvi secundi, sylvæ glandiferæ, sylvæ vulgaris, pascui."

[2] Dion, liii. 22.; St. Luke, *Evang.* ii. 1.

[3] Hoeck, *R. G.* ii. 209. The completion of this new system may be fixed perhaps to the time of Augustus. Such is the opinion of Savigny, referred to by Dureau de la Malle, ii. 437. But allowances in kind to provincial governors, &c., are occasionally mentioned at a later period.

Over the treasures concealed beneath the soil, the state claimed the same paramount dominion as over the produce of its surface. The mines and quarries throughout Italy and the provinces were held in part by the Roman people, and farmed, like the land-tax, by private speculators; in part conceded to individual proprietors, with the reserve of a fixed rent for the privilege of working them. The former class consisted principally of such works as were already at the time of the conquest either royal or public property. Thus it was found in Macedonia that the state had monopolized the gold and silver mines, and allowed its citizens to work those of iron and copper only, and accordingly the same distinction was maintained by the conquerors.[1] So likewise the rich gold mines of Spain, which the Carthaginians had worked for their own profit, fell to the domain of the Roman people.[2] The contractors paid largely for their bargains, and in return the state supplied them with the forced labour of condemned criminals. In some cases it employed in this ignominious service the reluctant hands of its legionary soldiers.[3] Finally it bound the population in the mining countries to the soil itself, and while it allowed them to profit by their industry, forbade them to desert the works or migrate in search of other employment.[4] But the contractors, not content with this premium on their undertakings, speedily exhausted the richest veins by their carelessness or rapacity. The state adopted a similar method in disposing of the salt works, the fisheries and the forests. The tolls and dues of cities, ports, roads and bridges, she

Revenue derived from mines and quarries.

From salt works, fisheries, and forests.

[1] Liv. xlv. 29.

[2] Plin. *H. N.* xxxiii. 31.; Diodor. Sic. v. 38.

[3] Tac. *Ann.* xii. 20.; Strabo xiii. 3.

[4] Cod. Theod. x. tit. 19. 15.: "Metallarii qui ea regione deserta in qua videntur oriundi ad externa migrarunt, indubitanter ad propriæ originis stirpem laremque revocentur."

grasped exclusively in her own hands, and enhanced them as she saw fit. In the year 694 the tribune Metellus Nepos carried the abolition of the customs' duties throughout Italy, but they had been restored by Julius Cæsar, and his successors in power never again dispensed with them. But their eyes were constantly directed towards them, with the view either of relieving their subjects by relaxing them, or increasing their revenues by additional impositions; and the attempt or even the wish to remit them was counted among the highest merits of the most beneficent of the emperors.[1] Besides these customs' duties the Roman government was ingenious in devising modes of extracting a profit from the enjoyment of every kind of artificial luxury. Articles of dress and furniture were assessed according to their value; the use of fountains, aqueducts, and baths was subjected to an impost; taxes were levied upon the doors, windows, and even the columns of the citizen's mansion. It would be tedious and even disgusting to specify all the objects and employments from which the state deigned to draw a miserable income, and we may now terminate this review of the sources of the imperial revenue with noticing the comprehensive assessment of five per cent on the succession of property, and on the sale and enfranchisement of slaves. In conclusion I must observe that if it would be futile to attempt an estimate of the sums required to meet the current expenditure of the state, it would be at least equally idle to enter into any calculation of the amount of its taxation. It may be taken for granted, however, that these two figures, if we could ascertain them, would be found by no means to

Customs and excise duties.

Taxes on the succession of property and enfranchisement of slaves.

[1] Nero, in the promising period of his career, Trajan, Pertinax, and Alexander Severus all distinguished themselves by their schemes for lightening the indirect taxation of the empire. See Dureau de la Malle, ii. 40.

correspond with each other. Many of the imperial taxes were collected in the rudest and most expensive manner, and considering the vast extent of the taxable area, the infinite variety of taxable objects, the ignorance and corruption of the fiscal agents, and the imperfection of methods and communications, it would not be unreasonable perhaps to assume that one-third of the public dues was never collected, and one-half of the remainder strayed far away from its proper destination.

The public ærarium and the emperor's fiscus.

The receipts from these various sources of taxation, as far as they found their way to the public treasury in the capital, fell under the management of certain officers responsible to the senate as the representative of the nation itself. The power which the emperor actually possessed over the sums thus collected was not perhaps the less substantial because it was disguised and indirect. But throughout the provinces which he governed by his lieutenants, the proceeds were paid into a separate chest, for the support of the imperial government therein. The treasury of the senate retained the old republican name of the *ærarium;* that of the emperor was denominated the *fiscus,* a term which ordinarily signified the private property of an individual. Hence the notion rapidly grew up, that the provincial resources constituted the emperor's private purse, and when in process of time the control of the senate over the taxes gave way to their direct administration by the emperor himself, the national treasury received the designation of *fiscus,* and the idea of the empire being nothing else than Cæsar's patrimony became fixed ineradicably in men's minds.

Retrospect.

Such was the form of government constructed by the genius of Augustus from the ruins of ancient usage bequeathed to him by the expiring republic. On more than one account it

merits attentive consideration even in our days. This indeed is not the place to enlarge upon the influence it has exerted upon the social and political institutions of much later times, though it would be hardly too much to assert that in some of its most important features modern history dates its commencement from the battle of Actium. At present we are more concerned with reviewing the past, and casting a final glance upon the tendencies of the period which terminated with this crowning revolution. The course of events for the last hundred years had indicated strongly and plainly the necessity of monarchical institutions to preserve society in Rome. The admission of the Italians to the franchise had opened a career to new ideas, and the traditions of class and family were rudely assailed by the interests of new men, and the influence of foreign manners. The old Roman rule became, even within the circuit of the seven hills, an anomaly and an injustice. The mass of the citizens, reinforced by fresh elements, demanded the overthrow of an oligarchical ascendancy, and chose itself champions from among the great captains, whom the unceasing warfare upon the frontiers produced in endless succession. At the same time the narrow basis of the municipal government proved inadequate to the control of colonies and provinces. The increasing extent of the Roman dominion required a firmer rule and a more definite system of government: nor could these be obtained except by imparting permanence and independence to the central authority. It was felt that the prolonged exercise of power could alone avail to effect the requisite reforms, and to superintend their development. From the time of Marius every political leader, with the sanction or rather at the instigation of his followers, aspired in turn to permanent or protracted authority. The successive consulships of Marius

General tendency of recent events toward monarchy.

and Cinna on the one hand, and the perpetual dictatorship of Sulla on the other, show that both parties tacitly acknowledged the necessity of extending the term of the *imperium*, the annual resignation of which had been formerly prized as the safeguard of public freedom. The nobles hoped, by allowing a transient usurpation, such as that of Sulla, or a limited supremacy, like that of Pompeius, to consolidate their monopoly of power. The Marians, or popular faction, already regarded the creation of a popular sovereignty as the true solution of the state of chronic disease to which the body politic was subjected. The one party placed their reliance upon a series of *coups d'état*, while the other contemplated without dismay the deliberate establishment of a tyranny. It can hardly be doubted that both Lepidus and Sertorius aspired to supreme power through the triumph of their adherents. The champion of the Iberians affected a regal deportment amidst his spurious senate of Romans, provincials and allies. Cæsar himself was bred from his cradle among the traditions of the great popular houses: from the first moment that his eyes opened on the political condition of his country he saw that his party wanted a leader, and that, whomsoever they made the object of their choice, they were resolved to carry him to the summit of power. What the precise nature of that power should be, what shape the coming monarchy should assume under the moulding hands of the fortunate conqueror, no sagacity perhaps could from such a distance divine: but there can be no doubt that this idea of monarchy, as the prize of success, was presented to the champion of the Marians from the first commencement of his public career. Cæsar's position differed materially in this respect from that of his great rival. Pompeius, at the head of a proud and powerful oligarchy, could only direct the vessel of the state under forms congenial to the peculiar spirit of his party

Contrast between the position of Cæsar and Pompeius.

To have aspired to the tyranny would have been to cut himself off from the friends with whom he was connected, and to expose himself helpless and unarmed to the hostility of inveterate adversaries. Even the officers of his legions, who were for the most part nobles, would have drawn their swords against him. But Pompeius did not shrink from marching as far in the direction of autocracy as the sentiments of his own allies would suffer him. He accepted powers more than once, which contravened the first principles of public liberty. The Manilian bill constituted him a king in the provinces. His sole consulship was a monarchical usurpation. He fretted within the narrow limits to which the necessities of his position restricted him, and he regretted perhaps that he had cast in his lot with a jealous aristocracy, which cramped on all sides his efforts to rise to sovereignty. At one time he sought, in combination with Cæsar and Crassus, to attain supremacy in its despite; at another he seems to have betrayed its cause, in order to bring matters to extremity, and extort from it in the camp an authority which it would not surrender to him in the city. It may be conceded that he was slow and languid in the prosecution of his schemes of self-aggrandisement; but it would be a mistake to ascribe to moderation or good faith his forced acquiescence in the restraints imposed upon him. The leader of an oligarchy can never rise to such an elevation as the champion of a popular party. He can never be more than *primus inter pares*, the first man of his order. He may be tempted indeed to desert his own allies, and unite with his opponents; and such was the course on the brink of which Pompeius more than once trembled. But the recollection of his early career, his family connexions, perhaps even his personal temper, rendered it impossible for the successor of Sulla to become the leader of the Marians.

He drew back, though too late to recover the full confidence of his own friends, and he left the only path which could lead to monarchy to be trodden by his rival Cæsar.

In the time of Octavius monarchy manifestly indispensable.

The same causes which tended to smooth Cæsar's road to power, operated still more strongly in favour of his successor in the next generation. The great vices of the ancient government had been tyranny in the provinces and aggression on the frontiers. To these was now added anarchy at home. The horrors which followed upon the overthrow of Cæsar's usurpation only proved that monarchy was indispensable. But Cæsar had trusted too magnanimously to the people as the basis of his sovereignty. However much they rejoiced in his supremacy, in which their own seemed to be reflected, the unarmed multitude were incapable of protecting it. Their hero discarded the defence of the legions, and a few months witnessed his assassination. Augustus learned circumspection from the failure of his predecessor's enterprise. He organized a military establishment of which he made himself the permanent head: to him every legionary swore personal fidelity; every officer depended upon his direct appointment. He enlisted under his banners the most vigorous and restless spirits of the aristocracy; he subdued their energies to his will by the restraints of discipline, the allurements of honour, and the ideas of military devotion. By engrossing the command of the national forces he disarmed all competitors for power. But this was not enough to secure his position. To thwart the secret machinations of the disaffected it was requisite to content the people, and to employ the nobility. The elaborate system of civil administration devised or perfected by his astuteness preserved the show of republican government, while it amused the nobles with a shadow of authority. The last century of the

commonwealth had witnessed the rule of an oligarchy under the forms of a democracy: the imperial constitution was the government of an autocrat under the forms of an aristocracy. The names of the ancient free state threw a transparent veil over an actual despotism. The commander of the legions was really the master of the citizens, and the theory of a balance of effective powers was in fact merely illusory. Yet traditional observance and inbred respect for forms and usages, the old national habits of discipline, and the force of antique associations, all combined in practice to invest the senate and magistracies of Rome with a dignity to which the emperors themselves were wont obsequiously to bow. The constitution of Augustus, in which the senate was presumed to be the governing power of the state, may be said to have lasted to the death of Pertinax, in the year of the city 946 (A.D. 193). The military revolution by which that emperor was overthrown established the direct supremacy of the army for several succeeding generations. But during the long period of two hundred and twenty years, no emperor assumed the reins of government without at least commencing his career with an acknowledgment of the senate's paramount authority. Each despot in succession professed to be guided by the traditions and precedents of the republic. It is true that caprice, insanity, and personal fear impelled some of the Cæsars to the wanton violation not only of the rights of humanity, but of every political principle. But in all such cases the transgression was branded as a public crime. A Caligula, a Nero, a Domitian and a Commodus, were denounced as traitors to the commonwealth, and public opinion sympathized accordingly with their destruction. These instances however were exceptional. The emperors were, for the most part, deeply conscious of their moral sub-

Character of his sovereignty.

Harmonious action of the elements of power under the imperial regime.

jection to the principles of an established order of things. The majesty of their senate, the body which transferred to them its own place and power, which ratified their enactments, and which raised temples and altars to their honour, impressed them with a feeling of awe, such as the oaths and religious sanctions of Christian coronations have too frequently failed to command.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Anticipations of constitutional monarchy.—Indifference of the mass of the citizens on political questions.—Augustus studies to revive the national sentiment.—His conservation of the patrician caste: of the religious ceremonial.—Restoration of temples and special cults.—Conservation of the rights of property: of matrimony.—Legislative measures to encourage marriage.—Regulations for the distinction of classes.—Jurisprudence of Augustus.—Completion of his policy.—His personal popularity not disturbed by occasional severity.—Disgrace and death of Cornelius Gallus.—The jubilee of the Roman people.—Considerations on the authenticity of the imperial history.

The Roman conception of constitutional monarchy.

THE noble fragment we have lately recovered of Cicero's treatise on Commonwealths breaks off with a warm eulogium on a limited or constitutional monarchy, delivered in the person of the younger Africanus, but supposed, not unreasonably, to convey the genuine sentiments of the writer himself. There are certain points of similarity in the position of these illustrious statesmen which, it may be presumed, did not escape the observation of the political philosopher: both began their career in the interest of the people, and finished it as champions of the oligarchy; both were conspicuous in their opposition to demagogues; both denounced agrarian levellers; both professed to form themselves on the model of Roman antiquity, while they cherished the arts and literature of Greece, and boasted their insight into its national character. Accordingly we may readily believe that the experience of Scipio actually suggested to him the thoughts which are here ascribed to him by his

later admirer. While the popular notion of monarchy among the Romans was simply that of a despotic autocracy, and the traditional colours in which they painted the tyrant Tarquin received a deeper shade from their actual acquaintance with an Antiochus or an Orodes, more reflecting minds speculated, we may conceive, from an early period, on the idea of a legal sovereignty, in which the prerogatives of the people should be delegated, on fixed principles, to a magistrate of its own choice. If their experience could discover no distinct examples of this happy polity, their imaginations at least were not idle; and such perhaps was the shadowy conception they formed to themselves of the original commonwealth of Rome, the free state of a Romulus, a Numa, a Tullus, and a Servius.[1] However this may be, the most perfect government in the view, we may believe, of the wisest of the Romans, was a just combination of popular and aristocratic authority, subjected by mutual concession to the control of a single hand. It was the government by centuries and curies, by a senate and a king. We may easily imagine that many of the most earnest thinkers of the later republic,—when they saw every form and institution torn in pieces by the furious ambition of demagogues and nobles, when consuls vied with tribunes in trampling upon

[1] Cic. *de Republ.* iii. 35.; "Hic Scipio, Agnosco, inquit, tuum morem istum, Spuri, tam aversum a ratione populari. Sed quamquam potest id lenius ferri quam tu soles ferre, tamen assentior nullum esse de tribus his generibus quod sit probandum minus. Illud tamen non assentior tibi præstare regi optimates. Si enim sapientia est quæ gubernat rem publicam, quid tandem interest hæc in unone sit an in pluribus? Sed errore quodam fallimur in disputando. Cum enim optimates appellantur nihil potest videri præstabilius. Quid enim optimo melius cogitari potest? Cum autem regis est facta mentio occurrit animis rex etiam injustus: nos autem de injusto rege nihil loquimur nunc, cum de ipsa regali republica quærimus. Quare cogitato Romulum aut Pompilium aut Tullum regem; forsan non tam illius te rei publicæ pœnitebit."

the laws, and imperators and triumvirs divided the empire with their swords,—turned often with a sigh to that pleasing ideal of a political Utopia, where the king was moderate, the senate wise, the people devoted, and the subjects satisfied.

But in the eighth century of the city it was too late to realize any such dream as this. The most perfect system of checks and balances would have fallen to pieces in the hands of a corrupt and degenerate people. The time for a fair experiment on constitutional monarchy had passed for more than a hundred years. The younger Scipio, when he prophesied the downfall of his country, was not unaware that even in his own day the vices of the oligarchy had provoked the re-action of democracy, and that their differences had become too inveterate for equal arbitration. A few generations earlier, perhaps, Rome, free and victorious, was still pure and honest enough to yield obedience to authority, and might have offered to the world an illustrious example of submission to a self-imposed monarchy. But when once a Gracchus and a Drusus had given the reins to democratical agitation, no such change could transpire without exciting unappeasable ambitions, and plunging the state into the direst convulsions. When the republic, after a brief and restless interval, fell at last under the sway of an armed chief like Marius or Cinna, the character both of the men and of the times forbade the hope that monarchy might avert the overthrow of freedom. Nevertheless, as monarchy had now become inevitable, better that Marius should have been the first of the emperors than Cæsar, while the Roman mind was still vigorous, capable of receiving a new impulse and assimilating another polity. Such he undoubtedly would have been, and the history of the empire would have dated from the auspicious termination of the Social Wars, but for

Too late to apply it in the time of Augustus.

the successful reprisals of Sulla, and his resolute reconstruction of the broken rule of the oligarchy. This counter-revolution stayed abruptly the natural progress of events, and delayed for fifty years the doom of the commonwealth. But the system of Sulla can only be considered as a political anachronism. It had no rightful claim to exist; it was the monstrous creation of the sword, repugnant to the views and aspirations of the great mass of Romans and Italians, as well as formidable to the provinces. It avowed its determination to control the development of society, and stop the political education of mankind. Hateful as it was, the victories of Pompeius availed to sustain it through one generation, while the current of men's thoughts was diverted from it by the conquest of Asia, the glare of foreign wealth, and the allurements of foreign luxury. But its foundations meanwhile were silently crumbling away in the decay of the old noble families, the decline of public virtue, and the scarce disguised treachery of some of its most conspicuous supporters. When Cæsar arose to strike the long-expected blow it fell in helpless impotence, and the violence of a rebel's hand anticipated by a brief period the struggles of its natural dissolution.

Yet the best Romans did not despair of it.

The Cæsarean revolution came indeed too late to save the remains of national virtue; but to despair of the republic was a crime with the Romans, and by a Messala and a Pollio, and a few of the noblest spirits of their age, Octavius, we may feel assured, was fondly regarded as the deliverer for whom the best and wisest citizens had been looking for an hundred years. The mildness of his sway in Italy, the firmness with which he had opposed intestine commotion and foreign aggression, the respect he had evinced for certain traditions of public policy, on which the safety and good order of the state were

supposed to rest, led them to indulge the hope that he would continue to preserve all that was good in the old consular government, while he held it together with the strong hand of the imperator. The reflections indeed of the mass of the citizens were far less deep or philosophical. The decrees of the senate and the public demonstrations of the populace have made us already familiar with the outward manifestation of joy and thankfulness which hailed the victories both of Julius Cæsar and of his successor. Yet such expressions of popular sentiment may easily be feigned, and in these instances we may be disposed perhaps at first sight to call their genuineness in question. Can it be true, we ask, that the Roman people, so proud of their freedom, so jealous of their rulers, so confident in themselves, could have really rejoiced in the triumph of the sword over the guardians and pledges of their laws? Or did they indulge the vain imagination that the victors of Actium and Pharsalia, the men who had hunted to death a Cicero and a Cato, would restore the liberties they had wrested from the devoted champions of the republic? May we not rather suppose that the mass of the citizens were prepared in fact to surrender even more than was demanded of them, and that they received back with surprise the present made them by the usurpers of the names and forms of the commonwealth? In order to answer these questions we must take a wider survey of the state of public opinion at the time.

Indifference of the public mind on political questions.

It is not a little remarkable how nearly passive the mass of the Roman people had long been under the sway of factions and political intriguers. Far distant was the period when the great body of the citizens was wont to rise at the bidding of some trusted leader, or at the dictates of a common sympathy, and express its will by a secession to the Sacred Mount, or a

sullen refusal to enlist in the legions. Throughout the horrors of the Marian and Sullan revolutions, while Roman blood was flowing in torrents, and no man's throat was secure from the gripe of the assassin, they looked on with palsied apathy, and submitted to the reign of terror almost without a murmur. During the struggles of Cæsar and Pompeius the same populace continued equally inert; and when the proscriptions were actually repeated at the bidding of the triumvirs, they were found not less patient of outrage and massacre than ever. They seem to have utterly renounced the assertion of any principle or wish of their own; the love of life itself degenerated into a mere animal instinct. Throughout the civil wars, it was never from the capital, nor even from Italy, that the impulse was given to the leading movements of parties: Cæsar armed himself in Gaul, Pompeius in the East, Cato in Africa, Cnæus in Spain. Antonius and his rivals depended upon their mercenary legions, until, in the final struggle, the aggression of a foreign power aroused the spirit of the conquering republic, and strengthened the hands of Octavius with a crowning manifestation of national sentiment. This was the last spontaneous levy of the Roman people; the effort was momentary and the victory immediate; but they had long resigned themselves to the tyranny of any ruler, provided only he were a Roman like themselves. Their sole hope, at the crisis of each succeeding usurpation, was that the conqueror would be more merciful than Sulla; and when the last candidate for empire returned in triumph to their presence, the assurance that he had fought their own battle, that he was not merely the victor in a civil fray, but the vanquisher of a foreign foe, satisfied them that his success would be as bloodless as it was glorious. In considering the history of Rome we cannot lay too much stress on the impression made upon the

national mind by the first proscriptions. To this frightful period its imaginations were constantly recurring; the undying recollection of these horrors survived every new phase of revolution, and taught the Romans to acquiesce in each successive act of violence as a relief from the recollections of the past.

Degradation of Roman sentiments by the mixture of races.

To the mass of the Romans, then, it was enough to be spared from massacre and confiscation. They were ready to exalt to the skies the usurper who refrained from taking all their lives and properties. This, in their eyes, was the merit of Octavius, and for this they met him at the gates of the city and led him in triumph to the Capitol and the temples of the gods. Though dignified with the name of Romans, the people, it must be remembered, who disgraced a title consecrated to freedom and self-reliance, had in fact little in common with the men who first rendered it illustrious. The result of the great struggle between the republic and her allies seventy years before, had mingled in one current the blood of the Romans and the Italians. Yet between these new compatriots there was at least a certain affinity in language, origin, and institutions.[1] Far more fatal to the homogeneity of the Roman race was the repeated enfranchisement of foreign slaves drawn from every quarter of the known world, the supple Syrian, the sensual German, the moody and ungovernable Moor. Various methods, indeed, were devised to impede the progress of these despised aliens to the highest offices of the state; even the complete franchise of the city was doled out to them with jealous precaution: but the necessities of political chiefs over-

[1] The most conspicuous monuments of early Roman literature are in almost every case the work of Italians rather than of genuine Romans; yet the true Roman sentiment is not the less unmistakeably impressed upon them.

leaped every restraint, and Sulla himself, the champion of exclusion, admitted a host of foreign-born clients into his own Cornelian gens. Cæsar took a bolder and more decisive step, but not before the times were ripe for it, in admitting foreigners into the senate itself; and the successors to his policy and power continued to replenish it, after every massacre, with members of the meanest extraction. The streets of Rome, which had witnessed the triumphs of the Scipios and Æmilii, were thronged with the descendants of their captives; the villas of the conquerors of Samnium and Carthage had fallen into the hands of owners who a few years before could hardly have pronounced their names.

Modern European communities afford no parallel to this debasement.

The long settled communities of modern civilization can scarcely appreciate perhaps the extent of this adulteration of race and blood. Political revolutions we have witnessed; social and economical changes, vast in extent and unprecedented in character, have occurred at our very doors; but upon the physical elements of the population affected by them, no impression has been made. The people of modern Europe, therefore, can admit of no comparison in respect of physical change with the Romans of the age of Augustus. The case, however, is different in the opposite hemisphere, where the native race is overwhelmed from one generation to another by a constant stream of foreign immigration. The movement of the physical elements of Roman society may not inaptly be compared, however different the causes from which it arose, with that in the population of North America. And accordingly in America we observe a rapid change and disintegration of national sentiment constantly in progress: the ideas of one decade of years become obsolete in the next; manners and fashions are ever fluctuating; even the language partakes of the general instability,

though retained on its foundations by the influence of its European sister, a few fixed principles of polity, belonging perhaps to an exceptional state of social development, alone remain, like landmarks, overtopping the ceaseless flow of thoughts and prejudices around them. But the local fixity and isolation of the Roman people in its earlier stages had imparted a similar character to its institutions, and maintained them in their native forms for several ages before the era of movement had commenced. Its notions of religion and polity, interweaved and entangled together, had sunk, as it were, into the very soil; its habits of thought on these matters, which constituted almost its whole life, were cast in a mould of iron. The Romans, as has been often said, were a nation of formalists; not less so than the Jews themselves; nor, as far as we know, were their prejudices shaken, or their minds recalled from the servitude of the letter, by any spiritual expositions of prophets or philosophers. Among the Romans, the men of higher light and deeper insight, who impugned the accredited faith of the people, carefully abstained from any attack upon their formulas. Scævola, Varro, and Cicero avowed the principle, that the errors of the vulgar, and the knowledge of the wise, should be permitted to co-exist with mutual toleration.[1] But the men who were most deeply imbued with these forms and prejudices, even the classes which were their acknowledged depositaries, were almost extinguished by war and proscription; their places became occupied by strangers, men for the most part who were prepared, on entering their adopted city, to renounce the ideas of that from

[1] S. Augustin. *de Civ. Dei*, iv. 27.: "Hæc pontifex (Scævola) nosse populos non vult; nam falsa esse non putat. Expedire igitur existimat falli in religione civitates. Quod dicere etiam in libris rerum divinarum ipse Varro non dubitat." Comp. iv. 31. This is the principle put forth by Cicero throughout his treatises *de Divinatione* and *de Natura Deorum*.

which they came, without taking much interest in the acquisition of the new. They were proud indeed of inheriting the glorious name of Romans, and of claiming affinity with the remnant of the genuine citizens; but their claims were rejected perhaps not less contemptuously by the real descendants of Quirinus than those of the Samaritans by the tribes of Benjamin and Judah.

Expansion of the primitive ideal of Roman life.

The Roman regarded himself in two very different lights, according as he reflected on his political or his social position. On the one hand, soaring on the wings of imagination, he vaunted himself as the favourite of the gods, the child of destiny, appointed to achieve a vast mission, no less than the reduction of the world to political unity; to beat down by force all opposition of arms, and constrain men to the simple routine of peaceful occupations.[1] On the other, he gloated with mere prosaic interest on the material gains of conquest. He regarded realms and empires as his domain, and worked out the resources of a province with the same zest as his ancestor had devoted to tilling his modest glebe. He remembered, on a wider theatre, how the master of the household had daily appeased the gods with corn and oil, with a prayer or a charm; how he had fed his slaves at his own board, and dispensed to them with equal care, both their tasks and their recreations; how he had kept the key of his wine bin at his girdle, and chastised his consort, even to the death, if she ventured to purloin it from his side. Such in the last age of the republic was still the ideal of Roman life, the life of a Curius or a Cincinnatus expanded to the proportions of a Lentulus or a Lucullus. Such was the life, it was fondly proclaimed, of Remus and his brother, of the sturdy sons of Latium and Sabellia.

[1] Virg. *Æn.* vi.: "Tu regere imperio populos," etc.

Thus the valiant Etruscans had waxed in glory and power, second only to the Romans themselves; thus Rome had become of all created things the fairest and the strongest.[1]

The drop of pious sentiment enshrined in either view served in some measure to purify the turbid elements of which at this period the mass of the Roman people was composed. Some moments there were in the existence of the contemporaries of the second triumvirate, when all the wealth of Asia and elegance of Greece seemed inadequate to compensate for the innocence and simplicity of the ancient republic. At such times the sense of lost freedom and forfeited self-esteem was aggravated by a consciousness of material decay. Throughout Italy the spoliation of so many estates and the insecurity of all had cast a blight upon agriculture; the harvests failed to support a population diminished by war and misery; the walls of cities were crumbling into ruin; the increase of brigandage cut off the communications between them, while it redoubled the anxiety of the masters for the safe custody of their sullen slaves. In Rome itself the invasion of barbarism was no less apparent. While the gratification of the multitude was consulted in the erection of gorgeous edifices for public entertainment, the temples of the gods were suffered to

Signs of material decay.

[1] Virg. *Georg.* ii. ult.: "Hanc olim veteres vitam coluere Sabini," &c. This ideal was of a singularly domestic character. The tutelary divinities of their country were styled by the Romans "gods of their fathers," and "home-born" (di patrii indigetes); [the old explanation, however, indigetes=indigenæ, can hardly be sustained]; their country itself was the "fatherland" (patria); their most cherished usages were the "custom of their elders" (mos majorum). They continued to the last to denominate the metropolis of their world-wide empire "the town" (urbs), while all foreign lands, far or near, were simply "beyond the gates" (foris). Much confusion is caused by our common translation of *urbs* by "city," a designation which ought in strictness to be confined to the political community (civitas). Urbs, whatever be its derivation, means the *town* or inhabited enclosure.

decay, their images were stained with smoke and damp, their worship was neglected, their services forgotten, the holy rites of wedlock were slighted, and a new race of citizens was springing into life whose will was their only law, and to whom the most venerable prescriptions of antiquity were no better than a dusty parchment.

The fundamental principle of the Roman religion still surviving.

But in the midst of this desolation, the legislator who sought to revive the pure sentiments of antiquity might appeal to a witness in their favour which no child of Quirinus could venture to impugn. To ascribe to mere chance the imperial career of the republic, or even to the virtues of the citizens themselves, apart from the holy influence of their laws and institutions, was a blasphemy from which the feelings of every genuine Roman revolted. Deep and firm was his persuasion that his city owed its prosperity to the divine principle of its constitution. The empire of Rome was a standing evidence in his view to the truth of the Roman religion, in its widest sense, as the foundation of its laws and usages. Already men's minds were becoming weaned from positive belief in the concrete divinities of Olympus, and fixing themselves more and more upon the abstraction of the Roman majesty, which their imaginations were beginning to invest with the form and personality of an actual goddess.[1]

Augustus undertakes to preserve and invigorate it.

To throw himself upon this deep conservative feeling, to revive the usages of the ancient days, and assimilate the fresh elements of the population to the remnant of its original stock, was the policy of the new master of the republic. The victories of Actium and Alexandria soon proved to be something more than the rout of

[1] The Smyrnæans boasted that they had been the first to erect a temple to Urbs Roma. This was in the consulship of the elder Cato, A.U. 558. Tac. *Ann.* iv. 56.

a foreign foe or the defeat of a barbaric invasion. Not only was Isis overthrown, and Anubis driven howling to his native desert; the majesty of the gods of Rome was not only vindicated, but restored to honour and recommended with a powerful voice to the veneration of the citizens. The conqueror commenced his career of empire by the restoration of the ancient cult. Religious forms were entwined about all the public and private life of the primitive Roman. The acts of every popular assembly were hallowed by ceremonial observances; the conduct of war abroad and of government at home was alike dependent upon auspices and omens; each particular family partook of the rites of the gens to which it belonged, and cherished the domestic worship of some god or hero from whom it derived its name or lineage. Thus, after the extinction in the fifth century of the family of Potitius, its first founder, the cult of Hercules had been appropriated to the Pinarii, with whom Julius Cæsar was himself connected.[1] The Julii claimed the special ministry of Venus, the Nautii worshipped Minerva, the Aurelii Apollo, the Valerii Pluto, while Diana was honoured by the Calpurnii, Neptune by the Servilii.[2] Some families venerated certain heroes of their own race, as the Horatii, who performed religious rites in honour of the brave Horatius *who kept the bridge* against Porsena and the Tarquins; and the Julii, who adopted as their patron the greatest of their name, the deified dictator. On stated anniversaries the rites of these divinities were celebrated by the representatives of the gens in a private chapel; and though the presence of the members in

[1] Liv. i. 7. ix. 29.: "Sacra penes Pinarios resedisse eosque mysteria fideliter custodisse." From this passage compared with Virgil, *Æn.* viii. 270., it would seem probable that the Pinarii still retained this privilege, though Dionysius, i. 40., denies it.

[2] See Becker, *Handbuch der Römischen Alterthümer*, ii. 1. 45.

gentral was not required at the ceremony, the favour of the guardian saint was supposed to be extended to all. It was extended, indeed, much farther. The welfare of the commonwealth itself was held to be closely connected with the due observance of these particular cults, and the law maintained a jealous watch over their perpetuation; the descent of property was burdened or illustrated with the obligation to preserve them in force. The annals of these patrician races were written for their especial honour, and the public traditions of the commonwealth itself were corrupted to glorify the most illustrious of its houses. The images or waxen busts of the deceased, ranged along the walls of the mansion in the city, were silent but expressive monuments of the family history; and whenever a chief of the house was carried forth to his sepulchre on the Flaminian or Latin Way, these effigies of his renowned ancestors, labelled for all to recognise them, were borne in procession before him, and reminded the admiring citizens of the proudest glories of their history.

Conservation of the patrician caste.

Accordingly the patricians of the primitive republic constituted a dominant caste, jealous of its peculiar prerogatives, and admitting no access to its own divine inheritance of dignity and authority. These pretensions had been gradually abated by the encroachment of the plebeians; the loss of privilege had drawn down with it many august but impoverished houses; and not a few of the oldest families had fallen out of the ranks of public office, and sunk into insignificance among the herd of citizens. While they retained their legitimate place at the head of the legions, the constant wars of the republic had drained them of their best blood; and when the new nobility of the commons forced itself into command, the patricians perished not less rapidly, but more obscurely, in the ranks. It was about the period of the Gracchi that

this subsidence of the old aristocracy of birth began first to be remarked. The increase of wealth and multiplication of offices had raised a number of new men into their places, while those that still remained on the arena of public life were forced to compete on equal terms with their upstart rivals, and, except in the possession of a few honorary distinctions, the patrician was only distinguished from the rest of the citizens by his exclusion from the tribuneship of the plebs. The wealthy competitors for the honours of the state became gradually fused into one common aristocracy, to which office alone gave a title of admission. The number of plebeian houses thus exalted by participation in the curule magistracies, and enrolled by the censors in the list of the senate, soon far surpassed the remnant of the patrician. This new aristocracy, under the title of the nobility, or the class ennobled by public service, drew a broad line between itself and the knights, the ignoble rich, whom it jealously excluded from the higher functions of the state. But this nobility again, rich, numerous, and powerful as it was, was decimated in its turn by massacres and proscriptions. Of the patrician houses which figure in the early history of Rome, the greater number disappear from her annals after the Punic wars, while many of those which we can still trace there have sunk into comparative obscurity. They are succeeded in the Fasti by a long series of plebeian names; but of these, again, few survive the Civil Wars, and the establishment of the Empire. The houses which rose to distinction after this epoch were universally of plebeian origin, and generally little known to fame at an earlier period.

Principle of adoption.

The custom, indeed, of adoption, invented perhaps from a religious motive, for the perpetuation of the gentile cults, might serve to maintain the existence of the house, and its name,

long after its genuine blood had really ceased to flow. Nevertheless, it may be doubted whether this contrivance was actually of much avail; for the facility thus given for preserving the legal continuity of family existence was in itself fatal to the real perpetuation of race. The pride of name might thus be satisfied without the propagation of lineal successors, or submission to the obligations of legitimate marriage. Thus while, on the one hand, the main stem of the Julian gens was prolonged, in default of natural heirs, by the adoption of an Octavius, its collateral branches, on the other, once widely extended, withered wholly away.[1] Besides adoption, however, the Romans invented another method for the perpetuation of the gens through its clientele. The noble Roman was authorized to confer his name, together with its religious privileges, upon the enfranchised foreigners who ranged themselves under his patronage. Even the slaves whom he manumitted were allowed, with occasional restrictions, to enrol themselves in his clan. Thus, with the exception perhaps of the Cornelian, the Julian became under Cæsar and Augustus the most extensive of any Roman house. It had its offshoots not only in Rome and Italy, but wherever either of its most illustrious patrons had set his foot and established his personal influence. The Gauls, the Britons, and the Iberians more particularly, sought the honour of this distinguished connexion, which was liberally bestowed on chiefs and potentates, on philosophers and statesmen, on artists and grammarians. Though the dictator left no natural off-

[1] Lord Mahon, near the beginning of his History of England, has given a table of the representatives of existing English houses about a century ago, which shows in a striking manner the vitality of our aristocratic families, maintained as they are solely by succession in blood either directly or collaterally. But the interval has been a period of unexampled tranquillity and prosperity to the class in question.

spring, and only one son by adoption, the name of Julius continues frequently to recur in the history of the Romans as long as they retained the gentile name with its appropriate observances.[1]

Increase of the patrician houses.

To the remnant of the patrician families, it has just been said, certain honorary functions were still, from ancient usage, attached. Among these was the exalted priesthood of the Flamens. For the perpetuation of such offices, which the people continued to regard with superstitious reverence, or from the vague desire so common to usurpers to surround himself with the ensigns of the polity he had overthrown, Julius Cæsar had introduced a measure for increasing the number of patrician houses. By the lex Cassia several plebeian gentes, among them perhaps the Octavia, to which his nephew belonged, and the Tullia, so recently illustrated by the genius of Cicero, were called up to the higher caste.[2] Augustus followed the example of the dictator; but in this case, we may believe, with a more distinct and deliberate object. The political nullity of the patricians had in fact abated nothing from the charm which popularly surrounded them; perhaps they had even gained in the affections of the people what they had lost in power. The manifest decay of those illustrious monuments of the past, the

[1] The kinsmen of the great Julius Cæsar, of whom there were one or two branches existing in his time, left as far as we know no successors.

[2] The elevation of the young Octavius to the patriciate has been already mentioned (ch. xxx.); that of Cicero is inferred from the passage of Dion. xlvi. 22, relating to the orator's son: ἐλεηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ σωθεὶς, ἔς τε τοὺς εὐπατρίδας ἐγγραφεὶς. Such an elevation was not simply personal, but was extended to the whole gens. It seems probable that these two cases were comprehended along with others in the measure of the dictator which bore the name of the lex Cassia. This and the lex Sænia of Augustus are referred to by Tacitus, *Ann.* xi. 25. Comp. Suet. Jul. 41. Dion, xlix. 43., lii. 42.

historical families of the republic, had excited an interest even in the contemplative spirit of an Atticus, who had devoted a portion of his abundant leisure to explore their antiquities and describe their genealogies. The archæologist Varro had written learnedly upon the same theme; at a later period Valerius Messala, the intimate friend of Augustus, but a true republican at heart, followed in the same track.[1] A subject which occupied the thoughts of three men of such distinction we may well imagine to have been generally attractive.

Religious functions of the patrician houses.

The anxiety of Octavius to restore the due consideration of the patrician houses, as a principle of public conservation, outstripped his own movements on his return homeward from the East at the close of 724. While still absent in the provinces of Asia, he directed L. Sænius, the consul suffect, to lay a measure before the senate for raising several plebeian families to the honours of the patriciate. The law itself, to which the senate dutifully acceded, and which the tribes were content to register, was dated from the following year, when the emperor, resuming his place in the capital, accepted the powers of the censorship, and undertook to reconstitute by various stringent enactments the several orders of the state.[2] The Romans were highly gratified by the respect thus paid to their early associations. The national traditions, which still exercised, as we have seen, their full influence over the mass of the

[1] The etymological writings of Atticus are referred to by Corn. Nepos, *Att.* 18. Varro wrote on the subject of families which claimed a Trojan descent. Servius on Virg. *Æn.* v. 117. 704. On the work of Messala and its origin, see Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxv. 2.

[2] L. Sænius was consul suffect with M. Tullius Cicero, son of the orator, in the latter part of the year 724: but the law which bore his name, and was introduced by him, is placed under the following year by Dion Cassius, lii. 42.; to which Augustus also himself refers it; Monum. Ancyr. 2.: "Patriciorum numerum auxi consul v. jussu populi et senatus."

citizens, connected the majesty of the republic with the dignity of its highest caste, who mediated by their august functions between the state and the celestial hierarchy. It is a curious fact that the patrician houses had for the most part attached themselves to the cult, not of the original Italian divinities, but of gods of comparatively recent and foreign importation. But in so doing they had only followed the course of the religious revolution which had long been in progress at Rome. Apollo, Venus, Neptune, Hercules, Pluto, Diana, and at least as the goddess of war, Minerva also, had been unknown to the worship of the early Romans; it was only in the latter ages of the republic that these deities were honoured with temples and priesthoods at all.[1] The principal temples at Rome had been constructed by the piety of victorious imperators; and to the posterity they had ennobled they had bequeathed, as the most precious of heir-looms, the care of these sacred edifices. Few, however, of their descendants, in the latter days of anarchy and irreligion, had displayed the zeal of the noble Catulus in the restoration of Jove's temple in the Capitol. The shrines of the gods, as has been said, were falling on all sides into ruin, their images were blackened with smoke, or mouldering with mildew. The sufferings of the commonwealth were willingly ascribed by the existing generation to the impiety of that which had gone before, and the admonitions of the poet were hailed with general acclamation when he reminded it that it was the lord of mankind only because it was the servant of the gods. This pious acknowledgment, said Horace, was the beginning and end of all its greatness.[2] Augustus perceived, with un-

[1] See Zumpt in his little tract *Religion der Roemer.*

[2] Horace in the well known passage, *Od.* iii. 6.:

> "Delicta majorum immeritus lues,
> Romane, donec templa refeceris . . . .
> Dis te minorem quod geris imperas."

erring sagacity, the direction of the popular sentiment, and at once placed himself at its head. The duty of renovating the temples had lapsed, by the death or impoverishment of their appointed guardians, to the nation itself, and he, in his censorial capacity, was the keeper of the national conscience.

Restoration of temples.

Accordingly he restored himself the temple of Jupiter Feretrius in the Capitol, which was said to be the most ancient in Rome; he erected another to Jove the Thunderer, to Cybele, and other divinities. He encouraged the nobles to vie with him in the pious work, and instructed Livia to repair the shrines of Juno, the tutelary guardian of Roman womanhood.[1] Up to this period, the god Mars, the reputed father of the Roman race, had never, it is said, enjoyed the distinction of a temple within the walls. He was now introduced into the city, which he had saved from overthrow and ruin; and the aid he had lent in bringing the murderers of Cæsar to justice, was signalized by the title of Avenger, by which he was now specially addressed.[2] There still remained, however, another deity in whom the emperor retained a peculiar interest. Apollo was the patron of the spot which had given a name to his great victory of Actium; Apollo himself, it was proclaimed, had fought for Rome and for Octavius on that auspicious day; the same Apollo, the sun-god, had shuddered in his bright career at the murder of the dictator, and had terrified the nations by the eclipse of his divine counte-

[1] Monum. Ancyr. 4. Compare Dion, li. 22. Ovid. *Fast.* i. 649. v. 157. vi. 637. At. ii. 63. of the same work he addresses the emperor as "templorum positor, templorum sancte repostor:" and Livy (iv. 20). calls him, "templorum omnium conditor aut restitutor."

[2] The temple of Mars Ultor, of gigantic proportions, "Et deus est ingens et opus," was erected in the new forum of Augustus at the foot of the Capitoline and Quirinal hills. Ovid describes it, *Fast.* v. 550. foll.

nance.[1] The courtiers of Augustus insinuated that their patron was inspired by an effluence from this glorious being: to him they ventured to ascribe the real parentage of the restorer of the city, as its founder had sprung from the auspicious passion of Mars for Rhea.[2] When they came into his presence they could not flatter him more adroitly than by dropping their eyes to the ground, as if dazzled by the encounter with his celestial radiance.[3] Besides building a splendid temple to Apollo on the Palatine hill, the emperor sought to honour him by transplanting to the Circus Maximus, the sports of which were under his special protection, an obelisk from Heliopolis in Egypt. This flame-shaped column was a symbol of the sun, and originally bore a blazing orb upon its summit. It is interesting to trace an intelligible motive for the first introduction into Europe of these grotesque and unsightly monuments of eastern superstition.

Restoration of the popular worship of the Lares.

Descending from the heights, and quitting the open spaces of the city, which afforded commanding eminences and ample room for his most august constructions, the restorer of antiquity next proceeded to revive the modest and retiring worship of the streets and lanes. The three hundred shrines, all of imposing magnitude, which Virgil assures us he dedicated throughout the city to the "gods of Italy," were in fact not

[1] Virg. *Georg.* i. 446.:

> "Ille etiam extincto miseratus Cæsare Romam,
> Cum caput obscura nitidum ferrugine tinxit,
> Impiaque æternam timuerunt sæcula noctem."

Comp. Ovid. *Metam.* xv. 786.

[2] Suet. *Oct.* 94.; Dion, xlv. 1.

[3] Suet. *Oct.* 79.: Oculos habuit claros ac nitidos, quibus etiam existimari volebat inesse quoddam divini vigoris, gaudebatque si quis acrius contuenti, quasi ad fulgorem solis, vultum submitteret." Comp. Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xi. 32.; Aurel. Vict. *Epit.* 1.; Virg. *Æn.* viii.: "Geminas cui tempora flammas Læta vomunt."

temples of the Olympian deities, such as have been mentioned above, but fanes or chapels of Stata Mater, the Steadfast Earth, and the Lares, or domestic Genii, erected in every vicus or district, for the common worship of the locality. Notwithstanding the grandeur of their attributes, and the attraction of their magnificent ceremonials, the greater divinities, imported from Greece and Asia, never fully acquired the sympathies of the genuine Italians, who still clung with unabated interest to the simple service of their old household patrons, the symbols, in their view, of permanence and security. The Roman might carry his Penates with him to every quarter of the globe, but his Lares still remained at home, and continued to consecrate his domestic hearth, and assure the safety of the neighbourhood. While Jupiter, Mars, and Quirinus, had each their patrician Flamens, the Lares were served by freedmen and plebeians.[1] The masters of quarters (magistri vicorum), churchwardens, as we might call them, of parishes, were chosen from the local population itself, and constituted an integral part of the municipal government of the city. At a later period in his reign, the emperor seems to have so far yielded to the irresistible propensity of his people to make him an object of worship, as to have allowed his own name to be associated with these semi-divinities, and his image to be erected along with theirs, and that of the faithful dog who watched together with the Lares and himself over the domestic security of the

[1] See Egger. *Historiens d'Auguste*, in his curious essay on the Augustales, p. 369. foll. Porphyrion and Acron, the scholiasts of Horace, ad *Serm.* ii. 3. 281. say, "Ab Augusto Lares, id est, Dii domestici positi sunt; ex libertinis sacerdotes dati qui Augustales appellati." "Jusserat enim Augustus in compitis Deos Penates (Lares) constitui, ut studiosius colerentur. Erant autem libertini sacerdotes qui Augustales dicuntur."

citizens.[1] The festival of the Street-games,[2] which from the time of the Sabine Tatius had been celebrated on the calends of May, was now repeated twice annually, on that day, and again in August,[3] in honour of the imperial demigod who had taken it under his special patronage, and who gradually became the central object of this popular worship throughout Rome and Italy, and at least the western provinces of the empire.[4]

Temples rebuilt. Worship of the god Terminus.

During his long tenure of power, and especially after assuming the functions of the chief priesthood, Augustus extended his restoring care to every branch of religious service. He revived various solemn games, which combined the cultivation of religion with the amusement of the people; he increased the number of the special priesthoods and of their individual members, to advance the honour of the gods, and the dignity of the noble officials;[5] nor did he renounce the prin-

[1] Ovid. *Fast.* v. 129. foll.:

> "Et canis ante pedes saxo fabricatus eodem . . . .
> Mille Lares Geniumque Ducis qui tradidit illos
> Urbs habet, et vici numina trina colunt."

Hence we have numerous votive inscriptions, Laribus Augustis.

[2] Hence in Virgil, *Æn.* viii. 717.:

> "Lætitia ludisque *viæ*, plausuque fremebant."

[3] Suet. *Oct.* 31.: "Compitales Lares ornari bis anno instituit, vernis floribus et æstivis."

[4] This worship of Augustus, or rather perhaps of the Lar of Augustus, as a demigod or genius, is to be distinguished from the later cult of the Cæsars as deities, which Augustus himself interdicted at least in Rome. Comp. Hor. *Od.* iv. 5. 34.:

> "Et Laribus tuum
> Miscet numen, uti Græcia Castoris,
> Et magni memor Herculis."

As regards the tercentum delubra of Virgil, we find in the Regionarii just 265 ædiculæ enumerated, in each of which were the figures of two Lares, and the genius of the emperor. Hence, Ovid, in round numbers, "Mille Lares."

[5] Suet. *Oct.* 31.: "Sacerdotum et numerum et dignitatem sed et commoda auxit, præcipue Vestalium virginum," &c.

ciples of religious toleration, which were ordinarily extended by the Roman government to all rituals politically harmless and not flagrantly immoral.[1] Besides erecting temples to Jupiter under the names of the Thunderer and the Spoilbearer, Augustus dedicated a large amount of bullion, together with gems and pearls, to the same god, as the tutelar divinity of the Capitol, the citadel of the empire. The sumptuous fane of the Capitoline Jupiter had peculiar claims on the veneration of the Roman citizens; for not only the great Lord of the earth was worshipped in it, but the conservative principle of property itself found therein its appropriate symbol. While the statue of Jupiter occupied the usual place of the divinity in the furthest recess of the building, an image of the god Terminus was also placed in the centre of the nave, which was open to the heavens. A venerable legend affirmed that when, in the time of the kings, it was requisite to clear a space on the Capitoline to erect on it a temple to the great father of the gods, and the shrines of several lesser divinities were to be removed for the purpose, Terminus alone, the patron of boundaries, refused to quit his place, and demanded to be included within the walls of the new edifice.[3] Thus propitiated, he was understood to declare that henceforth the bounds of the republic should never be narrowed; and the pledge was more than fulfilled by the ever-increasing circuit of her dominion. But the solicitude of this tutelary divinity was not confined to maintaining the frontier of the empire; as

System of augural limitation, and the consecration of boundaries.

[1] Marcianus in *Dig* xlvii. 22.: "Sed religionis causa coire non prohibentur, dum tamen per hoc non fiat contra senatusconsultum quo illicita collegia arceantur." Dionysius Hal. (*Antiq. Rom.* ii. 19.) distinguishes between the toleration and the reception, or as we should say, establishment, of a foreign cult.

[3] Ovid. *Fast.* ii. 667.:

"Terminus, ut veteres memorant, conventus in æde
Restitit, et magno cum Jove templa tenet."

guardian of the public domain he presided over the measurement or limitation of every civic territory, and the private estates assigned out of it; his bound-stones were erected to mark out each separate division, consecrated with rustic offerings, and hallowed with solemn formularies.[1] Whenever a portion of a conquered district was to be allotted to a community or a citizen, the augur, with his staff in his hand, turning himself to the auspicious quarter of the heavens, first drew an imaginary line across it from end to end in a direction vertical to himself, then another at right angles to it from right to left, thus dividing it in his mind into four equal portions.[2] The portions thus designated were then separated by balks of certain width, and again subdivided into smaller parallelograms, according to the number of lots required. Each lot was marked by bound-stones at its corners and points of intersection, and along its edges trees of foreign origin were planted, as a standing witness to the artificial character of the limitation.[3] If the

[1] The citizen who removed a landmark was devoted to the gods; the slave was thrown into chains or subjected to hard labour: but if he had acted under the authority of his master, he was put to death with all his family, by way, as it would seem, of punishing his guilty owner. See the formula in the Scriptores Rei Agrariæ, p. 258. ed. Goes. These penalties were commuted to a fine by a law of Caius Cæsar (lex Mamilia, &c.), which Mommsen ascribes to the Dictator. But this opinion is controverted by Rudorff, and I have little doubt, that its real author was Caius Caligula. See Lachmann's *Römische Feldmesser*, ii. 223. 244. The law in question is preserved in the Pandects. See *Digest.* xlvii. 21. de termino moto.

[2] Originally the augur faced the west; afterwards he took a contrary position. This appears from Varro, cited by Frontinus, *de limitibus.* Hyginus *de lim. const.* in Lachmann, i. 27. 166., compared with p. 169. See Rudorff's *Gromatische. Instit.* p. 343. foll. of the second volume of Lachmann's collection.

[3] It is not surprising that these bound-stones, which undoubtedly were maintained in innumerable instances for a thousand years, should have utterly disappeared. They furnished the readiest materials for building and the repair of roads. Besides, they were usually placed over pieces of money, like the foundation-stones of our modern edifices, and were no doubt often torn up for the sake of the concealed treasure.

spade thus allotted was not, as of course it seldom or never was, strictly rectangular, the remainder was excluded from this geometrical division, and reserved as the peculiar property of the state. When the appointed forms had been completed, the estate of the citizen or colonist was placed under the protection of the god Terminus; and the boundaries once assigned, marked out, and consecrated, could never again be changed, whatever change might occur in their ownership. If, for instance, one of these rectangles or *fundi* became divided between more than a single proprietor, the *fundus* still remained distinct, and for purposes of taxation was reckoned as an unit.[1] This mode of land-measuring was a science derived from the Etruscans, and is perhaps first brought to our notice by a fragment of writing which dates from the fifth century of the city.[2] It was, however, at least as ancient as the Etruscan kings of Rome. The divisions of land made by the Gracchi and Sulla, and by the kings themselves, continued to be known by their irremovable bound-stones down to a late period of the empire. Though the stones or termini themselves have long been uprooted from the soil, it is said that the names of the original fundi may still be traced both in Italy and Gaul in the modern appellations of certain well-known farms.[3]

The writers on this abstruse subject contain numerous notices of the limitations effected by Augustus,

[1] Though the territory of Italy, and the whole ager Romanus throughout the provinces, was exempted from the land-tax, it did not escape the succession tax imposed by Augustus.

[2] See the fragment ascribed to the augur Vegoia in the *Script. Rei. Agr.* p. 258. ed. Goes., i. 350. ed Lachmann.

[3] Niebuhr (*Rom. Hist.* ii. 620.) refers to two estates in the Campagna known by the name of la Roiana and la Cipollara, which he considers to be fundi Roianus and Ceponianus. A M. Bausset, cited by Dureau de la Malle, has discovered no less than twenty-five such names of Roman proprietors preserved in villages, hamlets, and farms in the neighbourhood of Béziers in France. De la Malle, *Econ. Pol. des Romains*, i. 183.

and the stones set up by his authority are referred to by his name.[1] Some of them mark, we may suppose, the latest assignments of land he made to his veterans after Actium; but even in the turbulence of the triumvirate the formalities of ancient usage were not perhaps disregarded in this particular. The land-measurer or agrimensor preceded the veteran with his pole and chain to mark out the appointed allotment; but the rude soldier entered into possession sword in hand, and hardly sheathed it either to sow or reap the harvest.[2] He paid perhaps little respect to the bound-stones set up for him, or even waited for the completion of augural forms. The emperor, however, was solicitous to repair whatever irregularities had occurred in the original appropriation, and studied to revive the honours of Terminus in conjunction with those of Jupiter himself.[3]

Respected by Augustus.

The restoration of the temples of Juno by Augustus and his consort, indicated the interest the new government felt in the institution of marriage. Neither the history nor literature of Rome can be understood without clear ideas upon this branch of her social economy. All nations have agreed in investing marriage with a religious sanction; but religion

Principle of Roman marriage.

[1] We meet with mention not only of Termini Gracchani and Sullani, but Augustei, Neroniani, Vespasiani, &c. They were inscribed with numbers or figures, plated with brass, and differed from one another in shape. Those of Augustus and Caligula were *rotundi*, perhaps rounded at the head; others were *quadrati*. In the *Script. Rei Agr.* are many rude figures of these termini, copied from the MSS.

[2] Propert. iv. 1. 130.: "Abstulit excultas pertica tristis opes."

[3] "Terminos rotundos quos Augusteos vocamus, pro hac ratione quod Augustus eos recensuit, et ubi defuerunt lapides alios constituit."—*Scr. Rei. Agr.* p. 255. ed. Goes. The two appendices on the subject of Roman limitation at the end of the second volume of the English translation of Niebuhr's history should be read in conjunction with De la Malle's chapter on the same subject, and Rudorff's *Gromatische Institutionen*, in Lachmann's edition of the *Scr. Rei Agrariæ*.

and policy were closely connected through every phase of the social life of the Romans, and in none more closely than in this.[1] Marriage they regarded as an institution hallowed by the national divinities for the propagation of the Roman race, the special favourite of the gods. Its object was not to chasten the affections and purify the appetites of man, but to replenish the curies and centuries, to maintain the service of the national temples, to recruit the legions and establish Roman garrisons in conquered lands. The marriage therefore of Caius and Caia, of a Roman with a Roman, was a far higher and holier matter, in the view of their priests and legislators, than the union of a Roman with a foreigner, of aliens with aliens, or of slaves with slaves. Even the legitimate union of the sexes among the citizens was regulated by the descending scale of confarreation, coemption, and mere cohabitation; and the offspring of the former only were qualified for the highest religious functions, such as those of the Flamen of Jupiter, and apparently of the Vestal Virgins, on which the safety of the state was deemed most strictly to depend.[2]

Fallen into disfavour and desuetude.

These jealous regulations were fostered in the first instance by a grave political necessity; but the increase of the power of Rome, the enlargement of her resources, the multiplication of her allies, her clients and dependents, had long relaxed her vigilance in maintaining the purity of her children's descent.[3] The dictates of nature, reinforced

[1] Modestinus in the *Digest*, xxiii. 2. 1., has a fine definition of marriage: "Nuptiæ sunt conjunctio maris et fœminæ, consortium omnis vitæ, divini et humani juris communicatio."

[2] See Dezobry, *Rome au Siècle d'Auguste*, ii. 436.

[3] Horace, *Od.* iii. 6. 17.:

"Fœcunda culpæ sæcula nuptias
Primum inquinavere, et genus, et domos:
Hoc fonte derivata clades
In patriam populumque fluxit."

by the observation of foreign examples, had long rebelled in this matter against the tyrannical prescriptions of a barbarous antiquity. After the eastern conquests of the Republic it became impossible to maintain the race in its state of social isolation. In his winter quarters at Athens, Samos, or Ephesus, the rude husbandman of Alba or the Volscian hills was dazzled by the fascinations of women whose accomplishments fatally eclipsed the homely virtues of the Latin and Sabine matrons. To form legitimate connexions with these foreign charmers was forbidden him by the harsh institutions of a Servius or Numa; while his ideas were so narrowed and debased by bad laws, that he never dreamt of raising his own countrywomen by education to the level of their superior attractions. Gravely impressing upon his wife and daughters that to sing and dance, to cultivate the knowledge of languages, to exercise the taste and understanding, was the business of the hired courtesan[1], it was to the courtesan that he repaired himself for the solace of his own lighter hours. The Hetæræ of Greece had been driven to the voluptuous courts of Asia by the impoverishment, and perhaps the declining refinement, of their native entertainers. They were now invited to the great western capital of wealth and luxury, where they shared with viler objects the admiration of the Roman nobles, and imparted perhaps a shade of sentiment and delicacy to their most sensual carouses. The unnatural restrictions of the law formed a decent excuse for this class of unions, which were often productive of mutual regard, and were hallowed at least at the shrine of public opinion.

[1] See the well known description of the accomplishments of the matron Sempronia, Sallust, *Catil.* 25.: "Hæc mulier genere atque forma, præterea viro, liberis, satis fortunata fuit: literis Græcis atque Latinis docta; psallere, saltare, *elegantius quam necesse est probæ*; multa alia quæ instrumenta luxuriæ sunt." Comp. Plautus, *Rudens*, prol. 43., and Terence, *Phorm.* i. 2. 36.

Influence of the freed-women.

Such fortunate cases were, however, at the best, only exceptional. For the most part, the Grecian mistress of the proconsul or imperator, the object of a transient appetite, sought to indemnify herself by venal rapacity for actual contempt and anticipated desertion. The influence of these seductive intriguers poisoned the springs of justice before the provincial tribunals. At an earlier period a brutal general could order a criminal to be beheaded at his supper table, to exhibit to his paramour the spectacle of death[1]: at a later, the luxurious governor of a province allowed his freedwoman to negotiate with his subjects for the price of their rights and privileges, or carried her at his side in his progress through Italy itself.[2] The frantic declamations of Cicero against

[1] This is the story told of L. Flaminius by Valerius Maximus, ii. 9. 3. Cicero alludes to it, *de Senect.* 12.: "Invitus quidem feci ut L. Flamininum . . . . . . e Senatu ejicerem, octo annis postquam consul fuisset; sed notandam putavi libidinem." Livy's version of the same story is still more atrocious. It may be amusing to compare with it the ingenuous confession of Napoleon I. to Las Cases, in speaking of a connexion he had formed in his first Italian campaign. "J'étais bien jeune alors, j'étais heureux, et fier de mon petit succès; aussi cherchai-je à le reconnaître par toutes les attentions en mon pouvoir; et vous allez voir quel peut être l'abus de l'autorité, à quoi peut tenir le sort des hommes; car je ne suis par pire qu'un autre. La promenant un jour au milieu de nos positions, dans les environs, au Col de Tende, il me vient subitement l'idée de lui donner le spectacle d'une petite guerre, et j'ordonnai une attaque d'avant-poste. Nous fûmes vainqueurs, il est vrai, mais évidemment il ne pouvait y avoir de résultat; l'attaque était une pure fantaisie, et pourtant quelques hommes y restèrent. Aussi, plus tard, toutes les fois que le souvenir m'en est revenu à l'esprit, je me le suis fort reproché." Las Cases, *Mém. de S. Hélène*, i. 169.

[2] See the account of Chelidon, the mistress of Verres, Cic. *in Verr.* i. 40., ii. 47., iv. 32., v. 13., and of Cytheris, *Philipp.* ii. We can hardly wonder that the Romans, with their formal notions of the institution of marriage, should have entertained no moral disapprobation of these connexions. It was only in a political point of view that the *concubinatus* of a citizen with a foreign *pellex* was regarded as a *mésalliance*. But the pellex must be a free woman: commerce with a slave, where the choice was not free on both sides, was esteemed dishonourable, and the high-minded Roman generally en-

the licentiousness of Verres and Antonius in this respect were a fruitless and, it must be admitted, a hollow attempt to play upon an extinct religious sentiment.

Servitude of married women.

The results of this vicious indulgence were more depraving than the vice itself. The unmarried Roman, thus cohabiting with a freedwoman or slave, became the father of a bastard brood, against whom the gates of the city were shut. His pride was wounded in the tenderest part; his loyalty to the commonwealth was shaken. He chose rather to abandon the wretched offspring of his amours, than to breed them up as a reproach to himself, and see them sink below the rank in which their father was born. In the absence of all true religious feeling, the possession of children was the surest pledge to the state of the public morality of her citizens. By the renunciation of marriage, which it became the fashion to avow and boast, public confidence was shaken to its centre.[1] On the other hand, the women themselves, insulted by the neglect of the other sex, and exasperated at the inferiority of their position, revenged themselves by holding the institution of legitimate marriage with almost equal aversion. They were indignant at the servitude to which it bound them, the state of dependence and legal incapacity in which it kept them; for it left them without rights, and without the enjoyment of their own property: it reduced them to the status of mere children, or rather transferred them from the power

franchised the object of his desire. Walckenaer has put this subject in its true light in his *Histoire d'Horace*, i. 110. fol.

[1] See the praises of celibacy in Plautus, *Mil. Glor.* iii. 1. 111. fol.: "Quando habeo multos cognatos quid opus sit mihi liberis?" etc. Comp. Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xiv. procem.: "Cœpisse orbitatem in auctoritate summa et potentia esse, captationem in quæstu maximo." Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 52. Senec. *Cons. ad Marc.* 19. Augustus says, in Dion, lvi. 7.: *οὐ γὰρ δή που μοναυλίᾳ χαίρετε, ἵν' ἄνευ γυναικῶν διάγητε. οὐδέ ἐστίν ὅστις ὑμῶν ἢ σιτεῖται μόνος ἢ καθεύδει μόνος· ἀλλ' ἐξουσίαν καὶ ὑβρίζειν καὶ ἀσελγαίνειν ἔχειν ἐθέλετε.*

of their parent to that of their husband. They continued through life, in spite of the mockery of respect with which the laws surrounded them[1], things rather than persons; things that could be sold, transferred backwards and forwards, from one master to another, for the sake of their dowry or even their powers of child-bearing.[2] For the smallest fault the wife might be placed on trial before her husband, or if he were more than usually considerate in judging upon his own case, before a council of her relations. She might be beaten with rods, even to death itself, for adultery or any other heinous crime; while she might suffer divorce from the merest caprice, and simply for the loss of her youth or beauty.[3]

Struggles of the women against it.

The latter centuries of the Roman commonwealth are filled with the domestic struggles occasioned by the obstinacy with which political restrictions were maintained upon the most sensitive of the social relations. Beginning with wild and romantic legends, the account of these troubles becomes in the end an important feature in history. As early as the year 423, it is said, a great number of Roman matrons attempted the lives of their husbands by poison. They were dragged before the tribunals, probably domestic, and adjudged to death. As many as a hundred and seventy are said

[1] For these outward signs of respect, see particularly Ovid, *Art. Amand.* i. 32. Festus, in Voc. Matronæ.

[2] The well-known story of Cato and his wife Marcia has been related in an early chapter of this history. Plut. *Cat. min.* 36. 68. Comp. Plaut. *Menæchm.* in fin.:

> "Venibunt servi, subpellex, fundi, ædes, omnia . . .
> Venibit uxor quoque etiam, si quis emptor venerit."

The *uxor* is the legitimate wife who has contracted *nuptiæ*, a Roman marriage. *Conjux* is a term of much wider application.

[3] Valerius Maximus (vi. 3.) tells of Egnatius Metellus, who flogged his wife to death for drinking wine. Comp. Plin. *H. N.* xiv. 13.; Gell. x. 23., and the passage in Plautus, *Mercator*, iv. 6.:

> "Ecastor lege dura vivunt mulieres,
> Multoque iniquiore miseræ quam viri," etc.

to have suffered.[1] In the following century, after the promulgation of the Oppian law, which forbade women to keep more than half an ounce of gold, to wear robes of various colours, and to ride in the carpentum, they formed a new conspiracy—such at least was the story—not to destroy their husbands, but to refuse conversation with them and frustrate their hopes of progeny.[2] This was followed at the distance of half a century by the Lex Voconia, *the most unjust of laws*, in the judgment of the Christian Augustine, which excluded women from the right of inheriting.[3] Of these laws, however, the first was speedily abrogated[4], the other was evaded, and, by underhand and circuitous means, women came to receive inheritances, to the great scandal, as we shall hereafter see, of the reformers under the empire.[5] But the continued quarrel of the sexes was exaggerated by mutual jealousy, and at the outbreak of the Catilinarian conspiracy, it was currently reported among the men, that the traitors obtained money for their enterprise from a multitude of matrons, who longed for a bloody revolution to exterminate their husbands.[6]

Legislation of the Republic for enforcing marriage.

In the primitive ages the state had not only regulated the forms of marriage, but had undertaken to enforce it. Among the duties of the censors was that of levying fines upon the citizen who persisted in remaining single to the

[1] Liv. viii. 18. Val. Max. ii. 5. 3. [2] Ovid. *Fast.* i. 620. foll.

[3] Augustin. *de Civ. Dei*, iii. 21. The severity of this law is also stigmatized in the Institutions of Justinian (iii. 2.), and the modifications explained which were introduced by the imperial legislation.

[4] The Lex Oppia was abrogated A.U. 557, under the consulship of M. Porcius Cato and L. Valerius Flaccus. The abrogation was proposed by the tribunes Fundanius and Valerius, and carried with the help of clamour and agitation on the part of the women, against the resistance of Cato and some of their own colleagues. Liv. xxxiv. 1. foll.

[5] Tac. *Ann.* iii. 23.: "Quæ Oppiis quondam aliisque legibus constrictæ, nunc vinclis exsolutis domos jam et exercitus regerent."

[6] Appian. *Bell. Civ.* ii. 2.: χρήματα δὲ ἀγείρων πολλὰ παρὰ πολλῶν γυναικῶν, αἳ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἤλπιζον ἐν τῇ ἐπαναστάσει διαφθερεῖν.

detriment of the public weal. The censure of Camillus and Postumius, A. U. 351, was celebrated for the patriotic vigour with which this inquisition was made.[1] In process of time the milder method of encouraging marriage by rewards was introduced, the earliest mention of which, perhaps, is in a speech of Scipio, censor in the year 554. At this time, it appears, certain immunities were already granted to the fathers of legitimate, and even of adopted, children, which last the censor denounced as an abuse.[2] But neither rewards nor penalties proved effectual to check the increasing tendency to celibacy, and at the period of the Gracchi an alarm was sounded that the old Roman race was becoming rapidly extinguished. The censor of the year 623, Metellus Macedonicus, expounded the evil to the senate in a speech which seems to have been among the most curious productions of antiquity. *Could we exist without wives at all*, it began, *doubtless we should all rid ourselves of the plague they are to us: since, however, nature has decreed that we cannot dispense with the infliction, it is best to bear it manfully, and rather look to the permanent conservation of the state than to our own transient satisfaction.*[3] It is still more curious, perhaps, that above a hundred years afterwards Augustus should have ventured to recite in the polished senate of his own generation the cynical invective of a ruder age. But, so it was, that when the legislation of Julius Cæsar was found ineffectual for controlling the still growing

[1] Val. Max. ii. 9. 1. Plut. *Camill.* 2.

[2] Gell. v. 19. Compare Liv. xlv. 15. Heinecc. *Antiq. Roman.* i. 25. 3. Cicero approves of this kind of legislation. See *de Legg.* iii. "Cælibes esse prohibento."

[3] Gell. i. 6.: "Si sine uxore, Quirites, possemus esse, omnes ea molestia careremus: sed quoniam ita natura tradidit, ut nec cum illis satis commode, nec sine illis ullo modo vivi possit, saluti perpetuæ potius quam brevi voluptati consulendum." That the censor was Metellus Macedonicus, not Numidicus, appears from Liv. *Epit.* lix. Gellius quotes a very noble sentiment from another part of the same speech.

evil, it was reinforced by his successor with fresh penalties and rewards, and the bitter measure recommended by the arguments and even the language of the ancient censor.[1]

The importance attached by the emperor to this fruitless legislation appears from his turning his efforts in this direction from the first year of his return to Rome. When he took the census with Agrippa, in 725, he insisted on carrying into execution the regulations of the dictator, which had been neglected during the interval of anarchy, and were destined speedily to fall into similar neglect again. Upon this one point the master of the Romans could make no impression upon the dogged disobedience of his subjects. Both the men and the women preferred the loose terms of union upon which they had consented to cohabit to the harsh provisions of antiquity. They despised rewards, and penalties they audaciously defied. Eleven years later Augustus caused the senate to pass a new law of increased stringency, by which the marriage of citizens of competent age was positively required. Three years' grace was allowed for making a choice and settling preliminaries; but when the allotted interval was expired, it was found expedient to prolong it for two years more: from time to time a further respite seems to have been conceded, and we shall find the emperor still struggling almost to the close of his life, to impose this intolerable restraint upon the liberty or licence of the times. The consent of the senators themselves, subservient as they generally were, was given with murmurs of reluctance, the more so, perhaps, as they alone were ex-

Legislation of Augustus on this subject. A.U. 725. B.C. 29.

[1] Suet. *Oct.* 89.: "Etiam libros totos et senatui recitavit et populo notos per edictum sæpe fecit: ut orationes Q. Metelli *de augenda prole*, et Rutilii *de modo ædificiorum*: quo magis persuaderet utramque rem non a se primo animadversam, sed antiquis jam tunc curæ fuisse."

cepted from the indulgence, which was now prudently extended to every lower order of citizens, of permission to form a legitimate marriage with a freedwoman.[1] The measure was received indeed with outward deference, but an inward determination to evade or overthrow it. Even the poets, who were instructed to sing its praises, renounced the obligation to fulfil its conditions; while others, whose voices were generally tuned to accents of adulation, exulted openly in its relaxation or postponement.[2]

Penalties of celibacy and rewards of marriage.

The nature of the penalties and rewards assigned by this law shows that the views of Augustus were for the most part confined to the rehabilitation of marriage in the higher classes, and the restoration of the purest blood of Rome. On the one hand, celibacy was punished by incapacity to receive bequests, and even the married man who happened to be childless, was regarded with suspicion, and mulcted of one half of every legacy.[3] On the other, the father of a family enjoyed a place

[1] Dion, Liv. 16.; who gives as the reason for the relaxation the disproportion of freeborn males to females, lvi. 7. Comp. *Dig.* xxiii. 2. 44. Suet. *Oct.* 34.: "Præ tumultu recusantium perferre non potuit nisi adempta demum lenitave parte pœnarum, et vacatione triennii data, auctisque præmiis."

[2] Horace and Propertius were both unmarried. The former muttered, in language which seems even by its languor and prosaic structure to betray its insincerity (*Carm. Sæc.*),—

"Diva, producas subolem, Patrumque
Prosperes decreta super jugandis
Fœminis, prolisque novæ feraci
Lege marita."

The latter exclaimed, with all the fervour of genuine triumph (ii. 6. 2.),—

"Gavisa es certes sublatam Cynthia legem,
Qua quondam edicta flemus uterque diu,
Ne nos divideret: quamvis diducere amantes
Non queat invitos Jupiter ipse duos!"

[3] Tac. *Ann.* xv. 19. Dion, liii. 13. Gaii *Instit.* ii. 111. 286. Conf. Juvenal, ix. 87.:

"Jura parentis habes; propter me scriberis hæres;
Legatum omne capis, necnon et dulce caducum."

of distinction in the theatres, and preference in competition for public office. He was relieved from the responsibilities of a tutor or a judex, and, as by the earlier measure of the dictator, was excused from a portion of the public burdens, if father of three children at Rome, of four in Italy, or of five in the provinces. Of the two consuls, precedence was given, not to the senior in age, according to ancient usage, but to the husband and the father of the most numerous offspring.[1] It is clear that such provisions as these could have had little application to the great mass of the citizens, who lived on the favour of their noble patrons or the bounty of the treasury, and bred up a horde of paupers to eat into the vitals of the state.

Penalties of unchastity.

The perverse subjects of this domestic legislation seem at first to have sought to evade it by entering into contracts of marriage which they afterwards omitted to fulfil. It was necessary to enact new provisions to meet this subterfuge. The facility allowed by the ancient usage to divorce formed another obvious means of escape: but again did the vigilant reformer interfere by appointing the observation of onerous forms for the legal separation of married persons.[2] When a divorce had actually taken place, the parties fell again under the provisions of the marriage law, and were required to find themselves fresh consorts within a specified interval.[3] Another mode of driving the reluctant

[1] Gell. ii. 15. Besides the classical authorities here cited the reader may refer to the fragments of Ulpian, published in Böcking's *Corpus Juris Antejustinianei*, and the modern writers on jurisprudence, such as Heineccius, Gothofred, Schulting, Brisson, and others who have written treatises upon the Lex Papia Poppæa, or reconstructed it from the notices of antiquity. The particulars here given may be found in all compilations on Roman law.

[2] Paulus in *Dig.* xxiv. 2. 9.: "Nullum divortium ratum est, nisi septem civibus Rom. puberibus adhibitis, præter libertum ejus qui divortium faciet."

[3] Ulpian. fr. xiv.: "Fœminis lex Julia a morte viri anni tribuit

citizens within the marriage pale was the infliction of penalties and disgrace upon unchastity beyond it: while now, for the first time, adultery, which had been left to be punished by the domestic tribunal as a private injury, was branded as a crime against the general well being, and subjected to the animadversion of the state.[1] But Augustus was not satisfied with directing his thunders against the guilty; he sought to anticipate criminality by imposing fresh restraints upon the licentious manners of the age. After the example of his predecessors in the censorship, he fixed a scale of expense for the luxuries of the table, and pretended to regulate the taste of the women for personal ornaments. At the gladiatorial shows, from which they could no longer be excluded, he assigned different places for the two sexes, removing the women to the hinder rows, the least favourable either for seeing or being seen, and altogether forbade them to assist at the exhibitions of wrestling and boxing.

Regulations for the distinction of classes.

The main principles of the old Roman polity were founded upon the distinction of classes, and in order to revive or reinforce them, the conservative legislator determined to mark the distinction by outward tokens. The word of command went forth, let every Roman know his own place and keep it. The law of Roscius Otho had separated the knights from the body of the people, and assigned them the first fourteen rows in the theatre. But this ordinance had been invaded, in

vacationem, a divortio sex mensium: lex autem Papia a morte viri biennii, a repudio anni et sex mensium." The fragment seems to be incomplete, and probably went on to specify the interval allowed to the male sex.

[1] Suetonius, *Oct.* 34., calls this law, "Lex de adulteriis et pudicitia. For the particulars see *Dig.* xlviii. 5.

Horace, *Od.* iv. 5.: "Mos et lex maculosum edomuit nefas."

The punishment of adultery consisted in heavy pecuniary fines, and banishment to an island, and seems therefore applicable only to the higher classes.

the confusion of the times, by the rampant democracy of Cæsar and Antonius: a plain soldier had been known to intrude himself into the places thus set apart for the privileged order; and Augustus himself had beheld a senator enter the theatre, where every seat was already occupied, and no man rise to make room for him. Freedmen, under pretence of being attached to the service of foreign potentates, had penetrated the orchestra itself, which was strictly appropriated to the senators. These irregularities were regarded as the symptom of a dislocation of all social principles. Henceforth they were corrected, and with the correction it was hoped that the spirit of antiquity would revive. The soldiers were kept separate from the people, the young from the old, the children's tutors had their proper places assigned them by the side of their charges, the married men were promoted in front of the bachelors, and a sumptuary ordinance relegated to the most distant corners those who ventured to obtrude themselves in unseemly raiments.[1]

We have already seen how the proprieties of dress and demeanour were again rigidly enforced. The public entertainments presented an image of the Roman state, and there at least the citizen was required to appear in full dress, in the costume of the ancient Quirites. He was forbidden to reject the warm and cumbrous toga for the light habiliments of slaves and foreigners. The practice in which knights and even senators had sometimes indulged, of showing their skill in dancing and acting upon the public stage, was now sternly prohibited. The Roman must give way neither to

Restrictions on the manumission of slaves.

[1] Suet. *Oct.* 44.: "Sanxitque ne pullatorum quisquam media cavea sederet." Compare Calpurnius, at a much later period, *Ecl.* vii. 26.

"Venimus ad sedes ubi pulla sordida veste
Inter fœmineas spectabat turba cathedras."

ease nor vanity. But the primitive sense of personal dignity could scarcely be retained by men who had lost the support of conscious freedom, and the irregularities thus denounced were ready at every moment to break out again, upon the slightest relaxation of vigilance in the government. By imposing a tax upon the manumission of slaves Augustus might hope to limit in some degree the infusion of new and base blood into the veins of the body politic, and no considerations of humanity withheld him from a measure which must have tended to worsen the condition of that unfortunate class. The mild influence of social tranquillity had not yet succeeded in softening, as was certainly the case in some respects at a later period, the callous indifference to human suffering engendered by the habits and institutions of a race of conquerors. The horrible punishment Augustus inflicted on the slaves who had enlisted under Sextus Pompeius, consigning them by thousands to the cross as fugitives, was a punctilious recurrence to the prescriptions of ancient law, and was no doubt applauded by the mass of the citizens as a wholesome exercise of authority for the safety of the state. But unfortunately we can discover no certain trace of any later measures of the same emperor for ameliorating the condition of servitude, though one anecdote at least is told of his interfering to save a slave's life, and another of his refusing to punish the murder of an odious master.[1]

Jurisprudence of Augustus.

The discreet usurper, who shrinks from the name of a revolutionist, will seek, by controlling the interpretation of existing laws, to avoid the necessity of enacting new. Such was eminently

[1] Dion, liv. 23. Senec. *Nat. Quæst.* i. 16. The lex Petronia, by which masters were forbidden to sell their slaves to the exhibitors of combats with wild beasts, has been referred by many commentators to Augustus. But the term *lex*, on which they mainly depend, continued to be sometimes used after the abolition of the ancient forms

the policy of Augustus. The legislation of the triumvirate, if to its arbitrary decrees such a title may be applied, consisted chiefly in indulgences accorded to certain classes or interests; and these the new ruler, after faintly excusing them on the plea of momentary necessity, surrendered to be absolutely annulled[1]. His own special enactments were directed, as we have seen, to the permanent reconstruction of society upon the basis of at least a pretended antiquity. Every deviation from ancient forms was carefully disguised or plausibly palliated. The great body of the Roman law existed for the most part in a mass of traditional precedents, upon which the judicial magistrates formed their own system of procedure. Their arbitrary conclusions were controlled however by the general interpretation of the learned, the patrician jurisconsults, who still claimed, with more or less success, to be the privileged expounders of the sense of antiquity in these matters, and were still consulted, if not strictly obeyed, by the advocates of their own class. Thus when Servius Sulpicius, the greatest or at least the second, as a learned jurist calls him, of Roman pleaders, was in doubt on a point of law involved in a cause with which he was concerned, he asked the opinion of Mucius Scævola. Not perfectly understanding the reply vouchsafed to him, he laid his difficulty a second, and again a third time, before the oracle; and at last submitted to the severe rebuke, that it was shameful for a patrician, a noble and an advocate, to be ignorant of the law which he had to administer. Thereupon he applied himself so diligently to the abstruse study, as to acquire the highest reputation therein of any of his countrymen, and to leave them no less than a hun-

of legislation, and other critics ascribe this law with more probability to the time of Nero. Troplong, *Influence du Christianisme sur le Droit Romain*, part ii. chap. ii.

[1] A.U. 726. Tac. *Ann.* iii. 28.; Dion, liii. 2.

dred and eighty volumes of commentaries on the subject, to become a standard authority with succeeding generations.[1] Such influence as a Scævola or a Sulpicius could thus exert Augustus sought to gain to his own side. His appointment indeed of the prætors secured him the interpretation of the law in all matters affecting his interests, as far as the edict of these magistrates could go; but he shrank from suffering the law to issue solely from the mouth of his own officers. The middle course which he devised was to suppress the right of giving opinions hitherto possessed in theory by all patricians indiscriminately, and restrict it to such among them as he chose himself to license, ostensibly at least for their eminent knowledge and character. This change was not perhaps in fact so startling as it appears; for the practice of the jurisconsult's prerogative had fallen into general disuse, and was actually confined to a small number of devoted professors of the science. Such however as it was, it led the way to the systematic development of legal principles, which, as it was the greatest creation of the imperial system, became also the firmest bulwark of its authority, cementing in one massive structure the work of a series of revolutions, and throwing a legitimate sanction over mere military force.[2]

[1] Pomponius in *Digest.* i. 2. 42.

[2] Pomponius (*Dig.* i. 2. 47.) gives a curious account of the two schools of juridical authorities which sprang from the teaching of Ateius Capito and Antistius Labeo respectively. The first of these learned men had yielded to the imperial blandishments, and accepted the consulship as the price of his subserviency; the other maintained a sturdy independence, devoting himself entirely to the business of his profession. The followers of Capito were attached to the old traditions; those of Labeo were innovators and original speculators: the one was succeeded by Masurius Sabinus, Cassius Longinus, Cælius Sabinus, Priscus Javolenus, Valens, Tuscianus, and Julianus; the other by Cocceius Nerva, Proculus, Pegasus, Celsus father and son, and Priscus Neratius. For the characters of Capito and Labeo see Tacitus, *Ann.* iii. 75.

This review of the legislation of Augustus must be closed with some general remarks upon the policy which directed it. The name of Julius Cæsar was the watchword which had cheered the legions of Octavius on to victory, and it continued dear to the mass of the Roman citizens, by whom the conqueror of the oligarchs was still regarded as the legitimate descendant of Marius, and the avenger of the Sullan massacres. But the popular writers of the Augustan era, who reflected the sentiments of the court rather than of the people, seem to have shared in a very trifling degree this general enthusiasm. Their almost total silence on Cæsar's merits,—for Virgil rarely and Horace never once celebrates his praises, —must be taken as significant of the peculiar views and policy of their patron.[1] The merits of the father and the son were so distinct that, had such been the pleasure of Augustus, he could have afforded to lavish the highest honours on the memory of his predecessor, without subjecting his own well-earned fame to any disparagement. The genial tributes of the Latin muse would have warmed the feelings of the Romans towards their benefactor more effectually, had such been his desire, than the frigid compliments of a temple and a priesthood. But Augustus, who affected to be the Cæsar of Peace, had a political motive for throwing into the shade the glories of the hero of Pharsalia. The death of his last rival Antonius operated a complete

Review of the policy of Augustus.

[1] The name of the first Cæsar is only once introduced by Horace, to compliment Augustus as "Cæsaris ultor." The allusion to the "Julium sidus" applies, perhaps, to the Julian family generally. When Tydides is said to be "melior patre," it is meant to remind us that Augustus was more illustrious than his father. Ovid has a similar comparison, *Metam.* xv. 750.: "Neque enim de Cæsaris actis Ullum majus opus quam quod pater exstitit hujus." Virgil mentions Cæsar only three times; *Ecl.* ix. 127., *Geo.* i. 466., *Æn.* vi. 826.; and Propertius never. See Orelli's note on Horace, *Od.* i. 12. 47.

change both in his temper and his aspirations. Henceforth the princeps, or leader of the senate, succeeds to the triumvir, as the triumvir had succeeded to the dictator. He now approaches more and more closely to the aristocracy, against which in his early years he had waged a war of extermination. He opens his arms to it, he devotes to its interests without reserve all the powers he has received from the triumphant democracy. Towards so generous a conqueror the nobles could not long retain their feelings of rancour, nor persist in refusing him their support, when they found him full of the most amiable dispositions towards them, when he promised and strove with energy and discretion to revive their ancient consideration, and more than compensate them for their losses, when he promoted to the highest offices the son of the murdered Cicero and a friend of the persecuted Brutus[1], when, in short, by flattery and condescension he sought to efface the crime of his origin, and the revolutionary recollections of Mutina and Munda. They listened with admiration to his accustomed theses on *Resistance and Conservation, Reaction and Restitution;* on a projected system of government which he propounded as the best, the best at least which the times admitted, the only system, in fact, by which the illustrious republic of Rome could be preserved; a system which he is proud to call his own, though built on the old foundations and constructed of the old materials overthrown by the earthquake of civil strife; with no other ambition, as he fervently asseverated, than to be called the re-

[1] M. Tullius Cicero was consul suffect in the year 724: Dion, li. 19. A son of Crassus the triumvir held the same office in that year also. Sestius, the friend of Brutus, was promoted to the consulship in 731. The family of the great orator ended in the second generation in a contemptible drunkard. See the stories of this Cicero's excesses in Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxii. 3., xiv. 28. Senec. *de Benef.* iv. 30. We may suppose that he had forfeited his self-respect after accepting the consulship from the slayer of his father.

storer of the commonwealth, and bear away in dying the conviction that his work will survive him.[1]

Augustus congratulates himself on the accomplishment of his patriotic schemes.

How carefully this system was contrived to interest the higher class, while it tranquillized the restless spirits of the lower, has been seen in the details of this and former chapters. To the one it held out the prospect of honourable employment, while it checked every prompting of ambition; to the other it substituted amusement for occupation, shows and largesses for military service: and such a system, while it can be maintained, affords no doubt great facilities to the march of administration. To the nobles Augustus could boast that the dictator had refused to be crowned a king, but had himself offered to restore the sword of the imperator. He vaunted the victories he had gained over the national foes, and the glory the state had acquired under his direction of its foreign relations. He pointed to the sacrifices he had made for the general weal, and compared himself to a Mucius, a Curtius, or a Decius. *Think not,* he exclaimed, *that the ancients alone were true patriots; behold in me a living proof that the love of Rome burns still bright in her children. Such was the spirit of the old patricians, and such still exists in the bosom of the high-born offspring of Quirinus. They are the true rulers and fathers of the commonwealth: fear not that I will ever abandon it to the sway of an unprincipled democracy: no!—sooner will I perish, sooner* REIGN! He thus held out to them the dire figure of royalty in the furthest distance,

[1] Suet. *Oct.* 28.: "Quam voluntatem (retinendi Imp.) quum præ se identidem ferret, quodam etiam edicto his verbis testatus est: Ita mihi salvam ac sospitam rempublicam sistere in sua sede liceat, atque, ejus rei fructum percipere quem peto, ut optimi status auctor dicar et moriens ut feram mecum spem mansura in vestigio suo fundamenta reipublicæ quæ jecero. Fecitque ipse se compotem voti, nisus omni modo ne quem novi status pœniteret."

as a monster to be invoked only in the last necessity to save the world from chaos. So far from taking away the life of a single citizen to obtain the crown, he would sooner lose his own life than wear one! a life, be it remarked, which the gods will surely protect, as they have avenged the death of Cæsar.[1] To the people he affirmed that the sway of Rome over the nations was now completed and assured. All nations should bring their tribute to the Capitol; the Roman, proud and untaxed, should enjoy the fruits of every zone and climate. Every gale should waft corn to Italy, to be lavished on the citizens by the hand of their friend and benefactor. The Roman should fold his arms in indolence and satiety, while his subjects should labour and his rulers think for him. To his countrymen, one and all, Augustus could allege that he had secured the stability of their institutions by his piety to the gods. He had bribed Olympus by gifts in which the immortals delighted. He had set up their fallen altars, repaired their temples, revived their services, and rekindled the flame of devotion in the heart of the nation. To his own fortunes and to the fortunes of the state he had attached the powers of heaven for ever.[2] From the gods he had descended to rehabilitate the ancient heroes of his country, restoring their monuments, re-erecting their images, surrounded with triumphal ornaments, and placing them under the colonnades of his own spacious forum, as the witnesses and patrons of the glory he had achieved. The city itself had participated in his pious solicitude. He honours her as a mother and a tutelary influence, almost as a goddess herself. For her embellishment he constructs many magnificent works, and requires the wealthy and the noble to follow his example; for he is not an Oriental potentate, but only the first of his own

[1] See the supposed harangue of Augustus in Dion, liii. 6. foll.
[2] Ovid, *Fast.* ii. 62.: "Nec satis est homines, obligat ille deos."

rank of citizens. Indignant at the inundations which periodically overwhelm, and the conflagrations which so frequently devastate her, he projects her restoration upon a scale of greater security and splendour, and boasts at last, as the crowning merit of his administration, that he found her of brick and has left her of marble.[1]

Prospect of monarchy not discouraging to the Romans.

In reflecting upon the easy acquiescence of the Romans in a regal tyranny, disguised under such transparent pretensions, we must not forget that they were not in a position to anticipate the rapid decline in public spirit which from this time actually took place among them. Apart from an antique prejudice, of which the wisest statesmen may have well been ashamed, royal rule could not imply, to their minds, degeneracy and decay. Under the sceptre of Philip the Macedonians had conquered Greece; under Alexander they had subjugated Asia. The Spartans had flourished under a dynasty of kings; even the Romans themselves, it might be remembered, had first proved their youthful energies under the auspices of a Romulus and a Tullus. They were far, therefore, from anticipating that the greatness and glory of their country would decline under a prince's sway; it was only in the last agonies of an impracticable republic that their valour had earned them no triumphs.[2] For the maintenance of the

[1] Suet. *Oct.* 29.: "Urbem, neque pro majestate imperii ornatam, et inundationibus incendiisque obnoxiam, excoluit adeo ut jure si gloriatus, marmoream se relinquere quam latericiam accepisset." Comp. Dion, lvi. 30., who puts the same expression in Greek, and adds the moral interpretation; τοῦτο οὐ πρὸς τὸ τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων αὐτῆς ἀκριβὲς, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἰσχυρὸν ἐνεδείξατο.

[2] Lucan, i. 12.: "Bella geri placuit nullos habitura triumphos." The opening lines of the Pharsalia deserve to be studied from this point of view; as for instance:

"Heu quantum terræ potuit pelagique parari,
Hoc quem civiles hauserunt sanguine dextræ . . .
Sub juga jam Seres, jam barbarus isset Araxes" .

living powers of the state they looked, not so much to the effect of free action and discussion, as to certain established principles of social organization. They put their trust, not in a free press and public opinion, but in the subordination of classes, the hierarchy of families, the customs of antiquity, and the traditions of religion. Generally speaking, law, in the view of the ancients, was something divine and permanent, the exponent of certain eternal necessities; whereas we allow ourselves to regard it as little else than the fleeting expression of every mood of the national existence. Hence the undoubting faith of the Romans in sumptuary legislation; that is, in the attempt to restore, without regard to outward change in the circumstances of society, the prescriptions of a normal antiquity. Hence the conviction of Augustus and his contemporaries, that in merely reviving ancient traditions, he was raising to life the dead bones of the past, and launching his country upon a new career of growth and development.

Moderation in the personal habits of Augustus.

In his personal habits and demeanour Augustus carefully distinguished between the Imperator and the Princeps. He protected his personal dignity by withdrawing from the indecent familiarity with which Julius Cæsar had allowed himself to address his legionaries. The conqueror of the Gauls had deigned to call the instruments of his victories by the name of *fellow-soldiers*; but Augustus, whether in his edicts or his harangues, never spoke of them but as his "*soldiers*"

When after a century's experience the empire was declared to be barren of laurels, Lucan expresses the mortification of his class in bitter language:

"Sed retro tua fata tulit, par omnibus annis,
Emathiæ funesta dies: hac luce cruenta
Effectum, ut Latios non horreat India fasces;
Nec vetitos errare Dahas in mœnia ducat,
Sarmaticumque premat succinctus consul aratrum.'

only. At a later period he forbade the princes of his family to employ any other term than this in communication with them; a prohibition in which there was a little pride, and perhaps also a little jealousy.[1] At the same time, however, as the prince of the senate and the people, he did not fail studiously to disguise all consciousness of his deserts, and shrank from the appearance of claiming the honours due to him. Amidst the magnificence displayed around him, which he chose to encourage in his nobles, his own manners were remarkable for their simplicity, and were regulated, not by his actual pre-eminence, but by the position he affected to occupy of a modest patrician. His mansion on the Palatine hill was moderate in size and decoration, and he showed his contempt for the voluptuous appliances of patrician luxury by retaining the same bed-chamber both in winter and summer.[2] His dress was that of a plain senator, and he let it be known that his robe was woven by the hands of Livia herself and the maidens of her apartment. He was seen to traverse the streets as a private citizen, with no more than the ordinary retinue of slaves and clients, addressing familiarly the acquaintances he met, taking them courteously by the hand, or leaning on their shoulders, allowing himself to be summoned as a witness in their suits, and often attending in their houses on occasions of domestic interest.[3] At table his habits

[1] Suet. *Jul.* 67.: Nec milites eos pro concione, sed blandiori nomine commilitones appellabat." *Oct.* 25.: "Ambitiosius id existimans."

[2] Suet. *Oct.* 72. There is something interesting in the care with which the Romans traced their honoured emperor from one of his residences to another, and probably rising a little above the last in the scale of sumptuousness: "Habitavit primo juxta Romanum forum, supra scalas annularias, in domo quæ Calvi oratoris fuerat; postea in palatio; sed nihilominus ædibus modicis Hortensianis; et neque laxitate neque cultu conspicuis," &c. Comp. Dion, liii. 16., lv. 12.

[3] Suet. *Oct.* 53.; Quintil. *Inst. Orat.* vi. 3. 59.; Macrob. *Saturn.* ii. 4.

were sober and decorous, and his mode of living abstemious: he was generally the last to approach and the earliest to quit the board.[1] His guests were few in number, and chosen, for the most part, for their social qualities: Virgil and Horace, the plebeian poets, were as welcome to his hours of recreation as Pollio or Messala. His conversation turned on subjects of intellectual interest; he disdained the amusement which the vulgar rich derived from dwarfs, idiots, and monsters.[2] Some ribald stories were current respecting his private habits, which the citizens gratified themselves with repeating, though attaching, perhaps, little credit to them. The future restorer of religion, and patron of the Olympian hierarchy, had amused himself, it was said, while yet triumvir, amidst a crew of boon companions, with assuming at a banquet the names and attributes of the twelve greater gods.[3] The guardian of manners and reviver of the ancient purity was, affirmed, in a similar spirit of detraction and pasquinade, to have courted, sometimes in the rudest and most open manner, the wives of the noblest Romans; not from unbridled appetite, for his power of self-control was unquestioned[4]; but in order, as his apologists averred, to extract from his paramours the political secrets of their consorts.[5] Such stories, however, if actually

[1] Suet. *Oct.* 74. 76, 77.

[2] Suet. *Oct.* 83.: "Nam pumilos et distortos et omnes generis ejusdem ut ludibria quædam naturæ malique ominis abhorrebat."

[3] Suet. *Oct.* 70.: "Cœna quoque secretior in fabulis fuit quæ δωδεκάθεος vocabatur." This and many other stories against Octavius might be traced to the invention of Antonius. It had been generally forgotten, we may presume, when Horace could venture to sing:

"Quos inter Augustus recumbens
Purpureo bibit ore nectar."

[4] See an anecdote of the continence of the young Octavius in Nicolaus Damascenus, *Vit. August.* 5. 15.

[5] Suet. *Oct.* 69.: "Adulteria quædam exercuisse ne amici quidem negant; excusantes sane non libidine sed ratione commissa, quo facilius consilia adversariorum per cujusque mulieres exquireret."

current at the time, made little impression upon the public; they were too commonly reported of all conspicuous characters to take hold of the convictions of the multitude; nor did the great man himself think it always necessary to reply to them. Augustus refrained, with remarkable firmness, from checking the licentiousness of his personal detractors by legal procedure.[1]

Jealousy of Augustus fatal to the poet Cornelius Gallus.

But if Augustus had the good sense to bear with temper the virulence of clandestine lampooners, which he knew would evaporate as soon as it reached the air, he was not the less vigilant in marking, and stern in repressing, all acts of defiance or presumption on the part of his subjects. The mild and affable patrician, whose whole heart seemed to be wrapped up in schemes for the promotion of general prosperity and individual comfort, was changed at once into a jealous tyrant at the first sign of political rivalry. Painful was the impression made upon the public mind when it appeared, from one melancholy instance, that the mere frown of so kind a master was felt as a disgrace at his court, and that disgrace at court was regarded as no other than a sentence of death. Cornelius Gallus, a Roman knight, a man of fashion and accomplishments, a poet himself of considerable mark, and the companion of poets and statesmen, had been entrusted, by the favour of Augustus, with the government of Egypt, where, as we have seen, he had done him faithful service in repelling the solicitations of Antonius.[2] But the splendour of his position, as the first Roman who had sate on the throne of the Ptolemies, and the flattery of the cringing Orientals,

[1] Suet. *Oct.* 55.: "Etiam sparsos de se in curia famosos libellos nec expavit, nec magna cura redarguit." Comp. Tac. *Ann.* i. 72.

[2] Gallus was in the zenith of his fame as an amatory poet before the reputation of any of his contemporaries was established. Even at a later period Ovid speaks of him as inferior to none of them. *Amor.* i. 15. 29.

who, in the vicegerent and servant of the emperor, beheld the successor of their own absolute sovereigns, intoxicated his weak and vain mind, and he suffered his subjects to erect statues in his honour, and inscribe his name and exploits on the stones of the pyramids. In a senator and a proconsul such conduct might have given no pretext for complaint; but the case of the government of Egypt was exceptional: the jealousy of the emperor was peculiarly sensitive in regard to every act and word of his factor at Alexandria; and the indiscretions of Gallus were magnified into a charge of treason against the interests of the republic. The senators, before whose tribunal the culprit was arraigned on the motion of one of their own order, hastened with ready adulation to declare him guilty, and desired his removal from his command. Augustus appointed an officer to supersede him, and required his presence in Rome. On his return the loss of his master's favour, the cold reception he encountered from the courtiers, the sense of disgrace and the apprehension of severer punishment so worked upon his weak mind, that he threw himself upon his own sword. Augustus was himself shocked at this unexpected catastrophe; it impressed, no doubt, upon him a painful conviction of his own isolation: he was sincere, we may believe, in rebuking the excessive zeal of the officious and selfish accusers, and complained that he was the only citizen who could not be angry with a friend without making him an enemy.[1] Nevertheless the dependents of the court seemed to have distrusted the sincerity of these regrets. They hastened to abjure their connexion with the fallen favourite. Virgil, at the instigation, it is said, of Augustus himself, suppressed a poetical compliment to the prince of Roman elegy, and replaced a genuine tribute of re-

A.U. 728.
B.C. 26.

[1] Suet. *Oct.* 66.; Dion, liii. 23.; Ammian. Marcell. xvii. 4.

gard and admiration with a very pretty but a very foolish fable.[1]

"Civil" demeanour of Augustus at the theatres and circus.

The senators, yet unconscious of the peril in which their own order stood, had perhaps little concern for the fate of an upstart knight, while the murmurs of fear and discontent which may have issued from the associates of the victim himself were speedily drowned in the strains of praise and flattery with which the theatre and circus, and every other public place, resounded. The admiration of the citizens was divided between the splendour, the variety, and the frequency of the shows their munificent patron exhibited. The attractions of these were so irresistible, that almost every house in Rome was deserted to attend them, and it was necessary to patrol the streets with guards on the days of spectacle to protect the property of their truant inhabitants.[2] It is said that Augustus himself partook of the popular taste for the excitement and vulgar pomp of these shows, and acknowledged an interest in them which was not generally felt by the more refined and intelligent.[3] At all events he justly regarded them as one of his instruments of government: it was *civil*, in the Roman sense, to mingle in the amusements of the citizens; accordingly, if business prevented him from attending, he always affected to ask pardon of his good countrymen, and when present he was careful to avoid the fault of Julius Cæsar, who allowed him-

[1] Donatus in *Vit. Virgil.* 10. It was believed that the story of Aristæus, at the end of the fourth Georgic, was written to occupy the room of an address to Gallus, which the poet was commanded to expunge. This account is very reasonably questioned by Heyne: it is not easy to see what place the praises of Gallus can have had in this connexion, whereas the fable of Aristæus is not inappropriate, and may be thought perhaps to elevate by its fantastic supernaturalism the extreme humility of the general subject.

[2] Suet. *Oct.* 43.

[3] Aurel. Victor, *Epit.* i.: "Quodque est læti animi vel amœni, oblectabatur omni genere spectaculorum."

self to read and write letters and transact affairs in the hours devoted to general relaxation.[1]

The people felicitate themselves on the signs of general peace and prosperity.

The constant plenty which the emperor's prudent measures secured for Italy and the city, the sudden abundance of the precious metals, and the impetus it gave to the transactions of trade and commerce, the cessation of the detested recruiting for the legions, which was now relegated to the provinces, all combined to fulfil the warmest anticipations of the blessings of peace, and reduced to a happy reality the fervent aspirations of the poets.[2] Mildew corroded blade and spear-head, but spared the growing crops; the sword was turned into a pruning-hook, the corselet into a ploughshare; the altar of Peace was erected solemnly in the Roman curia, and her festival was celebrated on the same day with those of Janus, of Safety, and of Concord.[3] On such occasions the praises of Augustus, as the author of so much happiness, held always the foremost place. Even the calamities of the city were turned into occasions of congratulation. Once when the Tiber overflowing its banks caused more than usual devastation, the augurs interpreted the event as a token of the swelling greatness of the emperor. Thereupon a senator named Pacuvius invited the citizens to devote their lives in company with himself to the life of Augustus,

A.U. 741. B.C. 13.

A.U. 727. B.C. 27.

[1] Suet. *Oct.* 45.: "Quoties adesset nihil præterea agebat: seu vitandi rumoris causa, quo patrem Cæsarem vulgo reprehensum commemorabat, quod inter spectandum epistolis libellisque legendis ac rescribendis vacaret; seu studio spectandi ac voluptate, qua teneri se neque dissimulavit unquam, et sæpe ingenue professus est." Comp. Tac. *Ann.* i. 54.: "Neque ipse abhorrebat a talibus studiis, et civile rebatur, misceri voluptatibus vulgi."

[2] Ovid, *Fast.* iv. 925.: "Aspera Robigo parcas Cerealibus herbis," &c. Comp. *Fast.* i. 701. 711. Tibull. i. 2. 49.

[3] Ovid, *Fast.* i. 881. (March 28):

"Janus adorandus, cumque hoc Concordia mitis,
Et Romana Salus, araque Pacis erit."

Comp. Zonaras, x. 34.

that is, to swear not to survive him.[1] In vain did the emperor interfere to prevent them from rushing tumultuously to offer sacrifices to his divinity. Whenever he returned to Rome from the provinces the people accompanied him home with hymns and acclamations, and care was taken that on such auspicious occasions no criminal should be capitally punished.[2] The poets urged their countrymen to remember, in every prayer and thanksgiving, the restorer of order, the creator of universal felicity. In the temples on days of public service, around their own hearths on every ordinary day, they were invited to thank the gods for all their prosperity, and with the gods themselves to join the hallowed names of Troy, of Anchises, and of Æneas, the patrons of the Julian race.[3] And when they rose from the evening meal to retire to rest, the last duty of the day, they were reminded, was to call with a modest libation for a blessing on themselves, and on Cæsar, the Father of his country.[4]

The title of Pater Patriæ conferred on Augustus.

The title of *father of his country* was indeed the proudest any Roman could obtain, and this the citizens had long been accustomed to lavish, privately and irregularly, on their hero and patron, when at last the senate took up the voice of the nation and conferred it upon him with due solemnity.[5] This act, however, was not sanctioned

[1] Dion, liii. 20. This devotion he characterizes as after the manner of the Spaniards, τὸν τῶν Ἰβήρων τρόπον. Cæsar has told us that it was a custom of the Aquitanians, and it may have been in vogue among the kindred tribes on both sides of the Pyrenees.

[2] Suet. *Oct.* 57. Dion, li. 20.

[3] Horace, *Od.* iv. 15.:

"Nos et profestis lucibus et sacris, etc."

[4] Ovid, *Fast.* ii. 635.:

"Et bene nos, patriæ bene te pater, optime Cæsar,
Dicite, suffuso per sacra verba mero."

[5] Suet. *Oct.* 58. Horace, at an early period of his power: "Hic ames dici Pater atque Princeps." But the title was not formally conferred before 752, on the nones of February, in the 13th consul-

by a formal decree; it seemed perhaps more flattering to give it the appearance of spontaneous acclamation. Valerius Messala, one of the noblest of the order, was deputed by his colleagues to offer the title to the emperor in the name of the senate and people. '*Conscript Fathers*,' replied Augustus with tears, '*my wishes are now fulfilled, my vows are accomplished. I have nothing more to ask of the immortal gods, but that I may retain to my dying day the unanimous approbation you now bestow upon me.*'[1] The poet Ovid could declare that the emperor was justly designated the father of his country, for he had long been in fact the father of the world. To him, as the pacifier of the nations, the sovereigns in alliance with Rome paid homage not less zealously than his own compatriots. In various kingdoms of the East they founded cities which they dignified with the name of Cæsarea. They combined for the completion of the great temple, long before commenced, of Jupiter Olympius at Athens, and finally dedicated it to the genius of Augustus. They descended from their thrones to seek him in his capital, or wherever they might overtake him in his progress through the provinces; divesting themselves in his presence of the diadem and the purple, and donning the toga of plain Roman citizenship, as clients attending on a noble patron.[2]

The estimation in which the founder of the empire was held by the citizens and by foreigners is thus established, not from the colours in which historians

ship of Augustus. See Spanheim, *de Usu Num.* 446. Comp. Ovid, *Fast.* ii. 127.:

> "Sancte Pater patriæ, tibi Plebs, tibi Curia nomen
> Hoc dedit, hoc dedimus nos tibi nomen Eques.
> Res tamen ante dedit: sero quoque vera tulisti
> Nomina: jam pridem tu Pater Orbis eras."

[1] Suet. *Oct. l. c.*

[2] Suet. *Oct.* 60.: Comp. Eutrop. vii. 5. Cities of the name of Cæsarea were founded in Palestine, Galatia, Pisidia, Bithynia, Cilicia, Armenia, and Mauretania. See Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* v. vi.

have pourtrayed his career, but from the unsuspected testimony of many collateral authorities. We may now proceed to examine in detail, as far as our means allow, the incidents of an administration which has left on the whole such a solemn impression of respect. These incidents are related in a consecutive narrative by only one writer of antiquity, nor till after an interval of nearly 200 years. And even this writer admits in striking language the imperfection of his materials, and explains the cause of the uncertainty which pervades all Roman history from the establishment of the empire. "*Thus,*" says Dion, "*was the Roman commonwealth reduced to a better and securer form: and indeed it was no longer possible for it to exist under popular rule. Henceforth, however, its affairs can no longer be written as heretofore. For hitherto every transaction, whether at home or abroad, was referred to the cognisance of the senate and people, and accordingly all public affairs were generally known, and many related them in writing. Although, therefore, many authors were swayed by fear or favour, by love or hatred, yet the truth might generally be discovered by the comparison of one with another, combined with the examination of public records. But from henceforth affairs began to be transacted privily and in silence, and if any were divulged they were not sufficiently attested to command implicit credence. For everything, it was suspected, was said and done in accordance with the views of the men in power. From henceforth we find many things commonly stated which never occurred, while others which really took place are not mentioned at all; and almost every incident is distorted from the truth of facts. Besides, the vastness of the empire itself, and the multitude of occurrences, makes it doubly difficult to relate all things accurately. For events occurred in Rome, in the provinces, and on the frontiers, of which none but the actors them-*

Considerations on the source of Roman history of this period.

selves could ascertain the real circumstances, while the people generally knew not that they occurred at all. Henceforth therefore I propose to relate affairs as far as I think requisite, in accordance with the narrations of others, whether they be true or false, *only occasionally introducing conjectures of my own, where I am induced to dissent from the ordinary account by some special information.*"[1] Dion, it will be remembered, was possessed of all our authorities, of Pliny and Seneca, of Suetonius and Tacitus, as well as of many others; and though, as a Greek himself, he applied probably, for the most part, to the Greeks for instruction, he cannot have been unaware of the pretensions of Tacitus especially to industry and impartiality, and of the character of a consummate historian which that writer bore among his own countrymen accordingly. When this illustrious Roman remarks, at the outset of his Annals, that men of excellent talents were not wanting to relate the times of Augustus, till deterred by the increasing necessity of adulation, but that the histories of later principates were falsified either by fear during the lifetime of the princes themselves, or by hatred after their death, we may question whether Dion considered even Tacitus so free both from anger and affection as he confidently asserts.[2] To explain here my own view of the worth of Tacitus as an historian, far the most important undoubtedly of all

[1] Dion, liii. 19.

[2] Tacitus, *Annal.* i. 1.: "Temporibus Augusti dicendis non defuere decora ingenia, donec gliscente adulatione deterrerentur. Tiberii Caiique et Claudii ac Neronis res, florentibus ipsis, ob metum falsæ; postquam occiderant, recentibus odiis compositæ sunt. Inde consilium mihi, pauca de Augusto et extrema tradere, mox Tiberii principatum et cetera; sine ira et studio, quorum caussas procul habeo." I cannot pause to give an account here of the various authorities for our history, but it is a satisfaction to be able to refer the reader to the well-written criticisms in Dr. Smith's *Dictionary of Classical Biography.* Egger's *Historiens d'Auguste* is also a valuable work for appreciating the sources of imperial history.

our authorities on the subject before us, would be to anticipate the history itself: the judgment I have formed of him will be explained, and I hope justified, as I proceed in the arduous task of comparing him with himself and with others; but the reader will not be in a position fully to appreciate it till he has studied the reign of Trajan as well as those of Tiberius and Nero.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

The organization of the provinces by Augustus.—1. Spain: final pacification of the mountain tribes.—2. Gaul: tribute promised by the Britons: reduction of the Alpine tribes.—3. Mœsia and Thrace. —4. Kingdom of Mauretania.—5. Province of Africa.—6. The Cyrenaica.—7. Egypt: expedition of Ælius Gallus into Arabia. —8. Egypt: repulse of the Ethiopians.—9. Asia Minor: Bithynia, Asia, and the dependent kingdoms.—10. Syria and Palestine: Parthia and Armenia.—11. Achaia.—12. Illyricum.—13. Italy, Sardinia, and Corsica.

Continuation of irregular warfare in the north of Spain.

HARASSED by a century of civil dissensions, and by twenty years of civil war, during which even the traditions of their aggressive policy had been almost forgotten, the Romans regarded the overthrow of Antonius as a pledge of universal tranquillity. The solemn ceremony with which their victorious hero had closed the gates of Janus had invested him with extraordinary popularity; when he proclaimed the establishment of peace throughout the world, the citizens accepted the announcement joyfully, without minutely inquiring into its correctness. They were satisfied perhaps with remarking that the conflict their legions still continued to maintain with the unsubdued hordes of a few obscure districts, whether within or beyond their frontiers, could not fairly be classed under the title of legitimate warfare. In the north of Spain the Cantabrians, the Vaccæi, and the Asturians were still, as they had ever been, in arms. These savage tribes, protected by the inaccessible character of their country as much as by their bravery, had never yet been brought under the provincial yoke. The capture and sack of the Iberian cities, three hundred of which, it

is asserted, had been stormed by an ancient imperator, had had little effect in coercing the liberties of a people whose fortresses were mountains, and whose resources were buried in the depths of caves and forests. The mountains indeed of Spain, especially of its northern regions, abounded in gold: the ancient battlefield of the Romans and Carthaginians was reputed to possess the greatest natural riches of any country of the world. It had often pretended to submit to the proconsuls of the republic, and had promised tribute: the Iberians had willingly taken service by the side of the Roman armies; but when they found themselves seized by their new masters and compelled to toil for them in the bowels of the earth, they revolted again and again under a yoke which imposed upon them not subjection only, but personal servitude.[1] The republic had controlled them with large forces and a complete civil organization; but when the theatre of civil war was transferred from the west to the east, and a portion of this pressure was withdrawn, the natives of the wildest districts had renewed with ardour their implacable hostilities. The triumvirs, in the midst of their common dangers and mutual jealousies, had commissioned their ablest lieutenants to lead large armies against them. The real or pretended victories successively gained over them had been thought not unworthy of the highest military rewards. Cæsar had allowed his legates, Fabius and Pedius, to triumph over Spain in the year 709.

[1] The wealth especially of the region called Turdetania in the south of Spain, not in gold only but other precious metals, which are not commonly found near together,—not only in mineral but in vegetable riches, which are still more rarely combined in the same locality,—excites the warmest admiration of Strabo, iii. 2. p. 146. Lucan, in his account of Cæsar's campaign on the Sicoris, introduces an illustration from the working of gold mines (iv. 298.):

"Non se tam penitus, tam longe luce relicta,
Merserit Assyrii scrutator pallidus auri."

For *Assyrii*, Oudendorp would read *Asturii*, an emendation in which I fully concur.

Domitius Calvinus gained a similar distinction in 718, Norbanus Flaccus in 720, Marcius Philippus and Appius Claudius two years later. Nevertheless, after so many overthrows, the Iberians were still in arms, and in the very year which witnessed the general pacification of Augustus, his officers, Statilius Taurus and Nonius Gallus, were still contending against them.[1]

Augustus quits Rome to pacify the province in person. A. U. 727. B. C. 27.

In the year 727, the emperor undertook to bring the struggle to a close in person. On quitting Rome, indeed, he had allowed it to be understood that he was going to complete the conquest of Britain, which his illustrious father had twice commenced and twice prematurely suspended. The barbarians had long since neglected to transmit the tribute imposed upon them. Arts and commerce were increasing among them, and they were proud of the rising importance of their ports and cities. The announcement that the emperor meditated such an expedition might serve to raise some enthusiasm among the citizens, but it is not likely that he ever really intended to engage in so remote and hazardous an adventure while he was conscious what a mass of occupation lay before him nearer home.[2] Already, however, the great northern road

[1] Fischer's *Zeittafeln*. The Spanish era dates from 38 B C. (A. U. 716), and is supposed to mark some important epoch in the organization of the province by the Romans. It may coincide with the campaign of Calvinus, which is only known to us from a notice in the Fasti Triumphales. The word is derived by Isidorus from æs, æra (*de Rer. Nat.* 6.): Æra quoque Cæsaris Augusti tempore posita est. Dicta autem est æra, ex quo orbis æs reddere professus est populo Romano." This may refer to a local census, but the writer confounds it apparently with the general census of the empire alluded to in St. Luke's Gospel. See Egger, *Historiens d'Auguste*, p. 46. The Spanish era was preserved in Aragon till 1358, in Castile till 1383, and in Portugal till 1415. See *Mém. Soc. Antiq. de France*, v. 28. in an essay upon the site of Emporiæ.

[2] Dion, liii. 22. 25. The ode of Horace (i. 35.), in which he prays "Serves iturum Cæsarem in ultimos orbis Britannos," is referred to the year 727.

of the consul Flaminius had been repaired by his orders to expedite the march of his legions into Gaul.[1] After crossing the Rubicon and traversing the Cisalpine province, he found his progress impeded by the audacious attacks of the Alpine mountaineers. Leaving Terentius Varro to chastise these marauders, he continued his route to Narbo, where envoys from Britain hastened, it was said, into his presence, with such assurances of respect and submission as might allow him to abandon without dishonour the intention he had avowed. At Narbo he held a *conventus*, or general meeting of the representatives of the Gaulish states, those of the south at least, and commenced his elaborate organization of the great province beyond the Rhone.[2] But while thus engaged, the pertinacious insubordination of the tribes of northern Spain demanded his presence in the camp. Augustus had already devoted himself to the service of the commonwealth on fields where little glory was to be obtained, and where the perils and fatigues of warfare might seem scarcely compensated by the dispersion of a few barbarian hordes. Nor could he expect to emulate in the mountains of Asturia the exploits of his father on the plains of Gaul, or of Pompeius among the wealthy cities of the eastern world. The campaign he now meditated was obscure; yet he knew that solid advantages were to be gained from victory in the last stronghold of provincial independence, and besides, his title of imperator required to be justified by occasional service in the field. Gaul and Illyricum, Britain and Spain, had all furnished the first Cæsar with imperatorial laurels, and Augustus thus turned his arms from the one to

[1] The repair of this road was commemorated by an arch at either end, at the gates of Rome and of Ariminum. (Dion, liii. 22.) The last of these is still extant, as is also the bridge thrown by Augustus over the Ariminus, at the exit from the town on the north.

[2] Dion, *l. c.*

the other to emulate the career of his great predecessor.

Military operations and sickness of Augustus.

Accordingly, entering Spain from the Pyrenees in the autumn of 727, he advanced into the heart of the disturbed districts, and pitched his camp at Segisama, near the head-waters of the Pisuerga, while a naval squadron from the Garonne or Adour watched the coast and harassed the enemy in the rear.[1] As long, however, as he kept his troops together in the centre of the enemy's position, the barbarians abstained from meeting him in battle, and confined themselves to the harassing warfare for which their country has been ever famous.[2] The emperor's flatterers might assure him that the foe was terrified by his presence, and would refuse to be drawn from their fastnesses as long as he remained before them. At the same time his fatigues, and perhaps his mortification at the repeated failure of his military enterprises, prostrated his feeble frame with sickness of unusual severity. He was soon compelled to quit the scene of operations, and repair to Tarraco, the head-quarters of the province to which it gave its name.[3] While Augustus lay stretched upon his couch the barbarians ventured to issue from their fastnesses, and assailed the legions. The Cantabrians were overthrown in a great battle at Vellica, among the sources of the Ebro, and were driven from thence, step by step, to the recesses of the Mons Vinnius, a lofty and sterile tract in the north of

[1] Oros. vi. 21. Flor. iv. 12.

[2] The "unchangeable character of Spanish warfare" is marked by a single word in Virgil: "Aut impacatos *a tergo* horrebis Iberos." How important this contest was felt to be even at Rome is attested by the frequent allusions to it in Horace. See *Od.* ii. 6. 11., iii. 8., iv. 14.; *Epist.* i. 12. 26. The foe is mentioned with respect even as late as the time of Lucan, *Phars.* vi. 258.:

"Si tibi durus Iber, aut si tibi terga dedisset
Cantaber exiguis, aut longis Teutonus armis."

[3] We learn from Martial, x. 104., that the most direct communication by sea between Italy and Spain was from Rome to Tarraco.

Gallicia, the summits of which rise more than nine thousand feet above the sea. Secure as they deemed themselves, in these inaccessible strongholds, the mountaineers asserted that the waters of the Atlantic should overflow these eminences sooner than the arms of the republic succeed in scaling them.

Reduction of the mountain tribes, and foundation of military colonies.

Nevertheless the skill and perseverance of the Romans were at last triumphant, and Spain, it was declared, was once more *pacified*. At the last moment, when the success of his lieutenants had become fully assured, Augustus was able to rise from his bed, and hasten to the scene of their exploits, where he devoted himself in person to the task of consolidating their conquests. The natives were required to descend from their mountains, and drafted into the cities in the plains, or quartered, as clients of the conquering race, within the lines which he now caused to be traced for the establishment of military colonies. Large numbers were sold into captivity; the chiefs were suffered to redeem their freedom by the surrender of hostages. The veterans of the legions were endowed with confiscated lands, and settled in fortified posts, of which Cæsar-Augusta, the modern Saragossa, was chosen, we are told, for its beautiful situation, more probably from its convenience as a centre of communication between Tarraco and Gallæcia, the Pyrenees and the Tagus. Bracara Augusta, with Asturica Augusta and Lucus Augusti, served to bridle the rebellious people of the north.[1] Emerita Augusta, which became at a later period one of the chief cities of Spain under the

[1] Bracara is the modern Braga in the north of Portugal, Asturica is Astorga in Leon, and Lucus may be traced in Lugo among the highlands of Gallicia; Emerita is Merida in Estremadura. There was also a colony, Pax Julia, and a Pax Augusta, probably the same place, called also Colonia Pacensis, which is supposed to be Beja. Ukert, *Geogr. Gr. und Ræm.* ii. 388. Ebora (Evora) received the name of Liberalitas Julia, and Gades (Cadiz) that of Augusta Julia.

Romans, was founded in a more favoured region, and to this perhaps it owed its eminent splendour and prosperity. The remains of a magnificent bridge over the Guadiana, and of two noble aqueducts, still evince the consideration it attained under the peaceful sway of the emperors.

Prolonged residence of Augustus in Spain.

The thirtieth and last triumph over the warlike nations of Iberia was celebrated in 728 by S. Apuleius, under whose conduct, as proconsul, the final successes had been gained before the arrival of the emperor in person. Augustus was already satiated with these distinctions, and demanded no military honours himself for the victories of his lieutenants. His flatterers recorded with exultation how embassies from the verge of the extreme East now reached him on the western margin of his empire. The envoys, we are assured, of the Indians and Scythians, famous names of unknown nations, had traversed the whole breadth of the globe in quest of the mighty master, and had found him at length at the spot where they could advance no farther. The Romans were reminded that in the same manner the nations of Gaul and Spain had sent ambassadors to the court of Alexander at Babylon, to accept peace at the hands of the greatest of ancient conquerors.[1] Augustus prolonged his residence in the country till 729, occupying himself with the organization of the three provinces, and

A. U. 729. B. C. 25.

[1] Orosius, vi. 21.: "Interea Cæsarem apud Tarragonam citerioris Hispaniæ urbem legati Indorum et Scytharum, toto orbe transmisso, tandem ibi invenerunt, ultra quod jam quærere non possent; refuderuntque in Cæsarem Alexandri Magni gloriam: quem sicut Hispanorum Gallorumque legatio in medio Oriente apud Babylonem contemplatione pacis adiit, ita hunc apud Hispaniam in Occidentis ultimo supplex cum gentilitio munere Eous Indus et Scytha Boreus oravit."

We may suspect, however, the reality of this remarkable incident, mentioned only by so late a writer as Orosius, himself a Spaniard. At a later period a similar embassy is said to have reached Augustus in the more central locality of Samos.

amusing himself, during the tedious intervals of returning illness, with familiar correspondence with his friends in Rome. At this period the great epic of Virgil was promised to the world, and a brother poet had predicted, in verses current among the circles of fashion in the capital, that it would eclipse with its splendour all Roman and all Grecian fame. Something finer than the Iliad, exclaimed Propertius, is about to see the light. The exploits of Cæsar and the triumphs of Actium were to be entwined with the legend of Æneas and his Trojan fleet. Augustus, to whom these anticipations were duly reported, urged the poet with importunate letters to send him a specimen of the work, which the modest author continued firmly to decline.[1]

Renewed outbreaks and final subjugation of the Spaniards by Agrippa.

In the year 729 Augustus finally quitted the peninsula. It was not long, however, before fresh disturbances broke out. In the following year Agrippa was employed to suppress them. In 732 the oppression of Carisius, proprætor of the northern province, drove the Asturians to another outbreak, in which they were presently joined by the gallant Cantabrians. Three Roman armies were attacked simultaneously, and only saved, as was affirmed, by the treachery among the assailants themselves. Carisius reduced the stronghold of Lancia, under the mountains of Asturia, in the north of Leon, and displayed unusual moderation in saving it from conflagration, in order that it might remain a monument

A. U. 732. B. C. 22.

[1] Propert. ii. 34. 65.:—

"Cedite Romani scriptores, cedite Graii,
Nescio quid majus nascitur Iliade."

Donatus in *Vit. Virgil.* 12. 45.: "Augustus vero cum tum forte expeditione Cantabrica abesset, et supplicibus atque minacibus per jocum literis efflagitaret, ut sibi de Æneide, 'ut ipsius verba sunt, vel prima carminis hypographa, vel quodlibet colon mitteret, negavit se facturum Virgilius; cui tamen non multo post, perfecta demum materia, tres omnino libros recitavit, secundum videlicet, quartum et sextum.' Comp. Macrob. *Saturn.* i. 24.

of his victory. Furnius drove the remnant of the insurgents into the Mons Medullius, between the Minho and Douro, where he surrounded them with a circumvallation, fifteen miles in extent, and compelled them at last to surrender, but not until great numbers had imitated the devotion of the Numantians and Saguntines, and destroyed themselves with fire, poison, and the sword.[1] Nevertheless the last sparks of the indomitable spirit of independence were not extinguished till 735, when Agrippa was once more engaged in the work. Some of the Cantabrian captives in Rome had contrived to assassinate their masters and escape into their own country, where they excited their compatriots to a fresh revolt by the recital of their sufferings and revenge. So desperate was their last effort of resistance, so well had they profited by their experience of Roman tactics, that the veterans, had learnt to fear them in turn, and were with difficulty and only by severe examples, brought into the field against them. Among other punishments the legion called Augusta was forbidden to use the imperial title. But the conquest was now at last completed, and the severe measures enjoined by Augustus were carried out with unflinching perseverance by his trusty coadjutor. Agrippa was conscious, however, that his services had reached the limit beyond which they would be invidious in a subject, and abstained from obtruding them on the emperor's notice by demanding a triumph. With this campaign the three provinces were completely brought under the yoke.[2] From

A.U. 735. B.C. 19.

[1] Dion, liv. 5.; Hor. *Od.* iv. 12. This C. Furnius was not less skilful as a courtier than as a soldier. See the anecdote in Seneca, *De Benef.* ii. 25.: "Nullo magis Cæsarem Augustum demeruit, et ad alia impetranda facilem sibi reddidit Furnius, quam quod, cum patri Antonianas partes secuto veniam impetrasset, dixit, Hanc unam, Cæsar, habeo injuriam tuam; effecisti ut viverem et morerer ingratus." He became Consul in 737.

[2] Liv. xxvii. 12.: "Hispania prima Romanis inita provinciarum,

this period the arts of peace and civilization were allowed to germinate without interruption. The fertile genius of the Iberian population profited to the utmost by the advantages of its position, secure from the inroads of war, and opportune for peaceful communication with the rest of the world. The cities of the great western peninsula became famous for luxury and letters, and the schools of Bætica furnished a longer list of historians, poets, and philosophers, than any province of the empire in which the imperial language was spoken. Throughout the southern part of the country the nations were completely Romanized, so as to forget their vernacular tongue.[1] Bætica was administered by the senate without any military force, while the Tarraconensis and Lusitania, which were placed under the care of the emperor, required the presence of his legates only as a protection against their own intractable mountaineers. Commerce, agriculture, and manufactures flourished; the demand of Italy for grain gave an impulse to industry, and fertilized the Iberian soil with a continual stream of wealth; the spirit of disaffection to Rome and the Cæsarean house yielded to the sense of increasing comfort and abundance; and the ease and contentment of the mass of the population may be estimated from the fact that from henceforth Spain disappears for four centuries from the page of military history.[2]

Political organization of the Iberian provinces.

Thus removed from the ordinary sphere of historical narrative, Spain presents us with scanty materials for describing her political organization, and that organization itself becomes of comparatively little interest or

quæ quidem continentis sunt, postrema omnium, nostra demum ætate, ductu auspicioque Augusti Cæsaris perdomita est."

[1] Strabo, iii. 2. p. 151.: οἱ περὶ τὸν Βαῖτιν τελείως εἰς τὸν Ῥωμαίων μεταβέβληνται τρόπον, οὐδὲ τῆς διαλέκτου τῆς σφετέρας ἔτι μεμνημένοι.

[2] Velleius remarks (ii. 90.), "Has provincias ad eam pacem per-

importance. It will be enough to remark, that the three provinces into which the country was divided in the time of Cæsar continued under the same names and with nearly the same boundaries. The military posts by which it was occupied were confined for the most part to the Asturian mountains. The great division of the Tarraconensis contained no less than seven conventus or circles, embracing twelve colonies, thirteen Roman and eighteen Latin municipia. Three conventus, nine colonies, and eight municipia, were enumerated in the smaller district of Bætica; while Lusitania, less populous and advanced, included three combinations of states, five colonies, and four municipia only.[1]

Affairs of Gaul. Pacification of the Aquitanians, the Treviri, and the Morini.

But to the ample region, divided from Spain by the Pyrenees, which will come repeatedly on the scene before us, we must devote our attention more closely, destined as it was to play a part in almost every domestic revolution, and many of the foreign transactions, of its conquerors. Cæsar had left Gaul exhausted and tranquil. He had succeeded in diverting into his own camps the valour of her most restless spirits, and had opened to her adventurous chiefs a new career of fame and fortune in the arena of Roman politics. During his brief tenure of power, and for a few years after, the tranquillity of the province continued to be maintained, though he had withdrawn from it the strength of the legions by which its submission had been originally effected. The obedience of the Gauls was interrupted once only by a rising of the Bellovaci[2]; and this was speedily put down by Decimus

duxit Cæsar Augustus, ut quæ maximis bellis nunquam vacaverant, eæ etiam latrociniis vacarent." Orosius, the Spaniard, writing four centuries later, "Tota Hispania in æternam pacem reclinata."

[1] See Becker (continued by Marquardt), *Handbuch der Roem. Alterthümer*, iii. 1. 83. from Pliny and Strabo.

[2] Liv. *Epit.* cxiv. The name of Bratuspantium was changed perhaps on this occasion by Decimus to Cæsaromagus; it became afterwards Bellovaci, now Beauvais.

Brutus, to whom, after the reduction of Massilia, Cæsar had entrusted the command. But after the establishment of the triumvirate, the aspect of affairs was entirely changed. From that time, both the north and the south were harassed by repeated disturbances. Agrippa was sent by Octavius in 717 to quell a revolt of the Aquitanians: no sooner had he gained an advantage over this people, than he was summoned in haste to the banks of the Rhine, to check an irruption of German hordes, invited thither by the Gauls themselves. Agrippa was the first to adopt the policy of establishing these warlike strangers in settlements within the frontier, where their jealousy of the natives on the one hand, and their fear of their own fierce and needy kinsmen on the other, might serve to retain them in alliance with the republic, whose position and interests were now connected with their own. This system, as we shall see, was carried out more extensively in later ages, till it became in fact one of the fixed principles of the Roman administration. Nevertheless, the pacification effected by Agrippa was precarious and incomplete. Nine years later the conquest of Aquitania had to be repeated, and Valerius Messala earned a triumph over Gaul on the banks of the Adour.[1] Nonius Gallus defeated the Treviri, together with the German bands they had enlisted in their service; and C. Carrinas gained a victory over the Morini, beyond the

[1] Tibull. i. 7. 4.:

> "Hunc fore Aquitanas posset qui fundere gentes,
> Quem tremeret forti milite victus Atur."

But the Aquitania of Messala's campaign is to be understood in the wider sense it obtained officially only a few years later, as bounded by the Rhone and Saone, the Loire and Pyrenees. The poet continues:—

> "Non sine me tibi partus honos: Tarbella Pyrene
> Testis, et Oceani litora Santonici:
> Testis Arar, Rhodanusque celer, magnusque Garumna,
> Carnuti et flavi cærula lympha Liger."

Messala triumphed in 727. See the *Fasti Capitolini.*

Somme, whom Virgil, the panegyrist of Augustus, would fain persuade the Romans to believe the farthest of mankind. Another irruption of the Germans across the Rhine was chastised in 729 by Marcus Vinicius.[1]

Disaffection of the Gauls, caused by harsh treatment under the triumvirs.

The cause of this disruption of the bands of Gaulish obedience, which appeared so firmly settled (for even the aggression of the Germans may be taken as a symptom of disaffection within the province), is to be sought in the change of treatment to which the natives were now apparently subjected. Cæsar, with a broad and liberal policy, besides flattering the martial spirit of the nation, had taken a still surer means of purchasing their submission by the slender tribute he had been satisfied to impose upon them. He required no more than a moderate revenue for the maintenance of his army of picked veterans, small in number, and accustomed to seek its reward in the conquests to which he continually led it. Gaul was in fact the adopted country of the first Roman emperor. During the brief period of his rule in Rome, he formed no general plan of taxation for the empire, and the region beyond the Alps was left to develope its natural resources, in peace and virtual independence, unchecked by the extortions of the Roman collector. As long as this lenient system was suffered to endure, Gaul remained tranquil and contented. But with the accession of the triumvirs to power, the fiscal demands of the treasury began to make themselves felt with more than common severity. The new rulers were needy; their armies, raised in desperate rivalry, were immense in number; their clients and adherents reckless and insatiable; and they were compelled to frame their financial system in accordance

[1] Virgil, *Æn.* viii. fin.: "Extremique hominum Morini." Dion, li. 20, 21., liii. 29. Comp. Vell. ii. 104.: "In Germania . . . immensum exarserat bellum."

with the demands importunately urged upon them. Massacre and confiscation at home, plunder and extortion abroad; such was the simple policy of the new administration. Gaul and Spain, though not cursed by the presence of the rival chiefs themselves, suffered under this pressure hardly less than Greece and Asia, in which they encamped or resided. Hence the commotions we have noticed on either side of the Pyrenees; hence the campaigns which violated even the sacred peace of Janus; hence the hard-won triumphs of the Octavian generals, swiftly followed by fresh disturbances; and hence the necessity for the arrival of Augustus himself to strike out in either province the lines of a satisfactory and permanent settlement.

Policy of Augustus in the organization of Gaul.

It was with such a settlement in view that the emperor had chosen these provinces to be governed among others directly from himself. As an imperial province, the whole of Gaul was placed, like the Tarraconensis, under a purely military regime. An imperial or Cæsarean legatus commanded the legions quartered upon it, enacted its laws, apportioned its contributions, and administered justice, under no other control than that of the imperator himself; while a procurator, as the steward of the imperator's private property, and generally a simple knight, or merely a freedman of his household, collected its revenues for the maintenance of its public government.[1] The constitutional princeps and limited imperator in the

[1] Under the republic the procurator was the man of business of a private citizen, charged with the care of his property out of Italy: hence generally his client or freedman. The emperor's procurator took the place of the quæstor in the imperial provinces, and in some assumed the functions of the proconsul himself. Tac. *Hist.* i. 11. "Duæ Mauretaniæ, Rhætia, Noricum, Thracia, et quæ aliæ procuratoribus cohibentur." In this case he was called procurator vice præsidis, &c. Even in the senatorial provinces there was a procurator with independent functions, to look after the fiscus or private revenues accruing to the emperor. See Becker, *Roem. Alter.* iii. 1. 300.

city was transformed, in his relation to an imperial province, into an irresponsible dictator. The organization of Gaul by Augustus, of which we can combine the details with tolerable completeness, furnishes, in its general aspect, a specimen of the way in which the provinces were ordinarily settled by victorious proconsuls under the commonwealth. The civil and political reforms which required such delicate handling, and so much of preparation and disguise, when they affected the city, which, in fact, could only be enforced by the most powerful commanders with the aid of popular enthusiasm, could be carried out in the provinces at one blow, or by one word, at the sole will of the governor deputed by the state. The sanction of the subjects of the republic was neither asked nor acknowledged; all the proconsul required was the eventual ratification of his acts by the senate. In the present case, this ratification was of course a mere matter of form, if it was ever even formally demanded. Augustus, at the head of the general assembly of the Gaulish states propounded his views for the division, the administration, and the assessment of the regions around him, and the law which proceeded from his lips was maintained without appeal by the terrors of the sword.

Organization of the Provincia Narbonensis.

His attention was first directed to the settlement of the Narbonensis. He had already summoned the states of Gaul into his presence at Narbo, before proceeding into Spain, and had decreed that a census should be taken of the three divisions of the Comata.[1] With respect, however, to the Togata, the more civilized region

[1] Liv. *Epit.* cxxxiv.: "Cum ille conventum in Narbone ageret, census a tribus Galliis quas Cæsar pater vicerat actus." Dion, liii. 22.: *καὶ αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπογραφὰς ἐποιήσατο, καὶ τὸν βίον τήν τε πολιτείαν διεκόσμησε.* It cannot be supposed that this census was completed during the short stay of Augustus in Gaul in 727.

called hitherto specially the Province, we have seen how completely it had been gained to the interests of the oligarchy under the sway of Pompeius, and the prefects appointed through his influence. The hostile feeling engendered in this quarter against the popular party had been defied by Cæsar, and disarmed to a great extent by his discretion. Yet the Massilians had clearly shown that their sympathies were still Pompeian, and after the reduction of their city Cæsar had taken vigorous measures to break their spirit. Augustus continued, after the dictator's example, to mingle favours with severities in his treatment of these dubious allies. His first act was to dedicate a temple to the *Justice and Clemency* of his predecessor, as a pledge of the system he was resolved himself to pursue. He proceeded to found or restore colonies for detachments of his soldiers. Arausio received veterans from the second legion, Forum Julii from the eighth, Arelate from the sixth, Bæterræ from the seventh.[1] These foundations were distinguished by the full Roman franchise; but Augustus was more reserved in communicating this privilege than his bolder predecessor, and Carpentorate, Cabellio, Aquæ Sextiæ, Nemausus, with other places which were now allowed to assume the denomination of Julian or Augustan, marking, it may be presumed, some close connexion with the imperator himself, were confined to the Latin rights. Vienna, the capital of the Allobroges, was already a colony of earlier date, and it is probable that no new proprietors were now intruded upon it.[2] According to the analogy of Spain we must suppose

[1] Plin. *Hist. Nat.* iii. 4. Valentia and other towns are designated as colonies by Ptolemy, *Geogr.* ii. 5. 10.; but these we may suppose, from the silence of Pliny, are of later date.

[2] Plin. *H. N. l. c.* According to Tacitus, *Hist.* i. 65., the colonists of Lugdunum (see below) regarded the Viennese as less genuine Romans than themselves. The soil of the Allobroges may have absorbed the blood of the older foundation.

that the wide domain of the Narbonensis was divided into several conventus, the states of which met in their assemblies to receive the commands of the Roman governor, and to apportion among themselves their shares of the fiscal burdens imposed upon the whole province. Of their number, however, we are not informed.[1] The chastisement which fell upon Massilia was the withdrawal from its supremacy of its dependents, Antipolis and Agatha. Of these, the former, though on the right bank of the Var, was declared to belong to the Cisalpine province, while the latter obtained the title and immunities of a Roman city. At the same time, however, Nicæa, which lay some miles to the left of the frontier stream, was suffered to remain a client of Massilia, and a city of the Transalpine province.[2] The port and arsenals of Forum Julii were completed by Augustus, and this colony, called also Classica, as the station of a great naval armament, and Pacensis, as a surety for the peace of the empire, became a formidable rival to the ancient emporium of the Phocæans.

The Provincia Lugdunensis.

But beyond the Narbonensis the soil of Gaul extended many hundreds of miles in various directions, and comprehended more than one federation of tribes, differing in manners and language. To forge into one mass the divers elements of which this region was composed, required great administrative vigour, and the seat of its government could not fail to become the centre and capital of the whole province. During the wars of Cæsar and Pompeius, dissensions in Vienna had caused the expulsion of a portion of its inhabitants, originally Roman colonists; and the outcasts had betaken themselves to the eminence which over-

[1] Becker's *Roem. Alterthümer*, iii. 1. 89.

[2] Strabo, iv. 1. p. 184. Plin. *H. N.* iii. 5.: "Agatha quondam Massiliensium."

looks the meeting of the Rhone and Saone, where, under the auspices of the proconsul Plancus, they had founded Lugdunum, *the city on the hill.*[1] This place, admirably situated both for commerce and defence, Augustus had garrisoned with a band of veterans, and had endowed it with a small domain extorted from the Segusians on the right bank of the Saone, to make it independent of the surrounding tribes, the Ædui, the Sequani, and the Allobroges.[2] Standing at the extreme point or apex of the ancient province, Lugdunum seemed to command a view of the new conquests of the republic in every direction.[3] From this spot, as the base of his operations, Augustus drew two geographical lines, radiating, the one to the Atlantic, the other to the British Channel. The first took nearly the course of the Loire, except where it swept southward to exclude the territory of the Turones, and mark off the province of Aquitania from the rest of Gaul[4]; the other adopted first the channel of the Saone, then struck westward

[1] Dion, xlvi. 50. The site of the Roman Lugdunum is on the hill of Fourvières, supposed to be Forum Vetus, to the north of the level space between the rivers, probably a recent accretion from them, now occupied by the chief part of the modern Lyons. Strabo, iv. 3. p. 192.: *ἐκιτισμένον ὑπὸ λόφῳ, on a slope beneath* the brow of the hill, unless we should read *ἐπί*.

[2] Plin. *Hist. Nat.* iv. 32.: "Segusiani liberi in quorum agro colonia Lugdunum." For their position, however, west of both rivers, see Strabo, iv. *l. c.* (whose account is to be read with caution, from his mistaking the Loire for the Doubs). Ptol. *Geogr.* ii. 8. Comp. Cic. *pro Quinct.* 25, 26.

[3] "Qui locus est exordium Galliarum." Amm. Marcel. xv. 11. Strabo, rather differently, iv. 6. p. 208.: *τὸ δὲ Λούγδουνον ἐν μέσῳ τῆς χώρας ἐστὶν, ὥσπερ ἀκρόπολις, διά τε τὰς συμβολὰς τῶν ποταμῶν, καὶ διὰ τὸ ἐγγὺς εἶναι πᾶσι ποῖς μέρεσι.*

[4] Pliny asserts in one place that the Garonne was still the northern limit of Aquitania, but shortly afterwards includes in that district several tribes lying between the Garonne and the Loire. Comp. *Hist. Nat.* iv. 31. 33. Mela also retains the pre-Augustan division (ii. 2.); but Strabo is decisive on the other side: *προσέθηκε δὲ τέσσαρα καὶ δέκα ἔθνη τῶν μεταξὺ τοῦ Γαρούνα καὶ τοῦ Λίγυρος ποτάμου νεμομένων.* iv. 1. p. 177. See also Ptolemy, *Geogr.* ii. 7.

between the Seine and Marne, and reached the sea nearly at the mouth of the Somme. Beyond this second line lay the whole region of Belgic Gaul, together with the realms of the Sequani and Lingones, which were now included within that division. The shapeless and comparatively narrow strip comprehended between these two lines, and extended to embrace the distant headland of Armorica, received its name of Lugdunensis from the new city which constituted its capital; but Lugdunum was destined, from the convenience of its situation, to become the political and commercial centre of the whole of Gaul. From hence the great roads of the province were directed to the extremities of the land; and from this starting-point, as from the walls of the imperial metropolis, the distances along each line were regularly measured.[1] Here was established the Gaulish mint, and here was the residence of the emperor himself, when he chose to visit the province in person, or of the governor to whom he deputed its administration.

Extent to which self-government was accorded to the Gaulish states.

Lugdunum was a new creation of the Roman power, of which it was the citadel and the symbol, the moral and the material pledge. From its position, combined with its political importance, it advanced rapidly in wealth and numbers, and within perhaps half a century had attained, next to Narbo, the greatest population of any Gaulish city.[2] The territory specially assigned to it was withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the Gaulish states on every side. It was not, however, the policy of the emperor to break up the old

[1] If we may take the statement of Ammianus in the fifth century, "exinde non millenis passibus sed leugis (1500 pp. Ducange in voc.) metiuntur" (Amm. *l. c.*), as true of this early period, it would seem that a remarkable concession was made to the habits of the natives, in measuring the roads of the further provinces by leagues instead of miles. But the Itineraries authorize no such distinction.

[2] Strabo, iv. 3. p. 192.

nationalities, or attempt to fuse them into a common mass. On the contrary, nowhere was the common artifice more systematically employed, of inviting the natives to self-government, under imperial supervision, with a machinery fashioned on the model of the commonwealth itself. We have seen that, with the exception of the Arvernians, and more especially of the Æduans, the sovereign authority was exercised throughout Gaul, either by individual chiefs or aristocratic federations. This form of government was supported by the influence of the Druids, whose religion was essentially an engine of aristocratic polity. While the popular assemblies, wherever the power was in their hands, had been prompt in obeying the mandates of Rome, the long struggle of the Gauls against Cæsar had been constantly fostered, and more than once revived, by the animosity of the chiefs and priesthood. Of the forms of popular government, therefore, the conquerors had no cause to be jealous. Here, as elsewhere, the suffering masses of the people hailed the arrival of the Romans as an era of deliverance from domestic tyranny. The fears and anxieties of the new rulers of Gaul were directed to another quarter. Augustus appears, as far as we can trace the landmarks of his policy abroad, to have studied to break down the influence of the privileged classes, and to raise up, as a bulwark against it, the machinery of popular institutions. His first care, it would seem, was to obliterate the old Gaulish names of the principal cities, which might be made the rallying cry of the disaffected; and it is remarkable that, while he changed the designation of Bibracte to Augustodunum[1], and transformed the names of the obscure oppida of many lesser states into strange appellations of mixed Romano-Celtic

[1] Augustodunum (Autun), the hill of Augustus, so called, I presume, from a temple of Augustus which crowned its summit.

sound[1], he permitted Lugdunum, as the representative of no hostile nationality, to retain the vernacular title which its first settlers had chosen.[2] To these cities, each the centre of a petty tribe, the people of each district were invited to resort; in them the image of a Roman senate or curia was established, to be the instrument of local government and taxation; to them the Gauls were taught to look, as the representatives of their name and nation: eventually, but at what period we cannot determine, its Roman name fell into disuse, and was superseded by the appellation of the tribe in which it lay; and the modern titles of the chief cities of France are derived almost without exception from those of the clans which were ranged in resistance to Cæsar nineteen hundred years ago.[3]

[1] As for instance Juliomagus, Cæsarodunum, Augustobona, Augustoritum. All such places as these become not merely *urbes*, but *civitates*, or territorial communities. The limits of the dioceses of France down to the Revolution generally mark, it is said, the *ager* of these cities respectively. Dureau de la Malle, *Econ. Pol. des Romains*, i. 193. Walckenaer, *Geogr. des Gaules*, passim.

[2] It is singular that this Celtic name (whatever be its true signification) should have been chosen by the mixed Gauls and Romans whom the Allobroges expelled from Vienna, for the city built for them by Plancus by direction of the Roman senate.

[3] The original names of the places mentioned in the last note but one are not known. Their Roman titles became changed respectively into Andecavi (Angers), Turones (Tours), Tricasses (Troyes), Lemovices (Limoges). A similar change took place with regard to Gaulish names which had never been supplanted by Roman. Thus Samarobriva became Ambiani (Amiens); Divodurum, Mediomatrici (Metz); Nemetacum, Atrebates (Arras); Lutetia, Parisii (Paris); Durocortorum, Remi (Rheims); Avaricum, Bituriges (Bourges); Mediolanum, Santones (Saintes); Condivicnum, Namnetes (Nantes); Limonum, Pictavi (Poitiers); and many more. Such a change is rarely found in the south of Gaul, where the Romans had the longest resided. Toulouse, Bourdeaux, Narbonne, Arles, Nismes, Vienne, Valence, Aix, Marseille, &c., still bear the original names not of tribes but of the cities themselves. Such is generally the case throughout the more advanced parts of Gaul, the countries of the Ædui and Sequani, as we see in Autun, Chalons, Besançon, Macon, &c. It is remarkable that no such transformation has taken place in the local appellatives of Spain or Britain: The Romans changed

The popular assemblies, however, of the cities were in no respect strongholds of national independence. The order of decurions or curials was composed of citizens qualified by a certain census; their officers, the duumvirs, ædiles, quæstors, and Augustales, were appointed by rotation rather than by election. Except in a few cases, where autonomy was specially permitted, they did not presume to legislate in any but the most trifling matters of municipal regime. They merely registered and enforced the decrees of the central authority, and provided the machinery for levying on families and individuals their share of the quota of the state. These quotas were fixed by the census, which was instituted, as we have seen, by Augustus, during his brief sojourn in Gaul in 727; and was repeated and extended by his command at subsequent periods. The moderate impost, or military contribution, of his predecessor was now increased, we may suppose, to the ordinary proportions of provincial taxation, and pressed more and more heavily on the bulk of the people, as favoured citizens or cities were admitted to the immunities of the Roman franchise. The political and fiscal organization of the province formed the basis of the measures for retaining it in subjection. The discretion with which municipal privileges were conceded or withheld, and personal distinctions awarded or promised, softened the animosity of the conquered, while the show the republic

Functions of their popular assemblies.

the Iberian into a Latin name in a great many cases, in some of which the Latin form is still traced, while in others, perhaps the greater number, the original name has been recovered. In Britain, where not changed by the Saxons, our cities retain the British local appellation, as Venta, Londinium, Lindum, Eboracum. The cause of these peculiarities is difficult to trace, and cannot be discussed within the limits of a note. They would seem, however, to show that the municipal system was more fully developed in Gaul than in the other provinces, and probably with the object of popularizing the local governments as a counterpoise to the influence of the priests and nobles.

could make of her vast material resources, however distant, terrified and controlled the disaffected. The military roads, the work of the indefatigable Agrippa, which led from Lugdunum to the chief cities of the furthest districts, were constructed for pouring the legions rapidly to any point of danger, while the want of cross-roads cut off their intercourse with one another.[1] Here, as elsewhere, an effective system of posts was established from place to place, but solely for the use of the government, which could thus strengthen itself by the means of communication which it denied to its subjects.[2] The itinerary system of the Romans was thus an effective instrument of centralization in Gaul, just as, at the present day, the trunk lines of railroad, in the same country, bring its great cities nearer to the capital,

Political importance of the military roads.

[1] Pompeius is said to have made a line of road over the Alps and Pyrenees; but it does not appear that Cæsar ever constructed any great permanent way in Gaul or elsewhere. Strabo notices the roads of Agrippa in Gaul (iv. 6. p. 208), leading from Lugdunum to—1. the Rhine; 2. the Somme and the Channel; 3. across the Cevennes to the ocean; 4. Massilia and Narbo. Besides these roads, the great aqueduct of the Pont du Gard at Nismes, still existing, is ascribed to Agrippa on the authority of inscriptions. See Frandsen (*Agrippa*, p. 172.), who ascribes it to the date of Agrippa's second visit to Gaul, A.U. 734, 735.

[2] The little that is known of the post-system of the empire is summed up in a few words in Becker's *Handbuch*, iii. i. 304. "The institution of Augustus, which became the basis of the later system known to us from the writings of the Jurists, consisted of a military service which forwarded official despatches from station to station by couriers, called in the earlier imperial periods "speculatores." (Liv. xxxi. 24.; Suet. *Calig.* 44.; Tac. *Hist.* ii. 73.) Personal conveyance was confined (as in the time of the republic) to officials: for this purpose the mutationes (posts) and mansiones (night quarters) were assigned, and even palatia erected at the latter for the use of governors and the emperor himself. Private individuals could take advantage of these state posts within the provinces by a special licence (diploma) of the governor, and at a later period of the emperor only." Under the republic, senators and high personages could obtain the posts for their private use, as a matter of privilege. The occupation, it may be observed, of the posts by the government, would give it a similar advantage to the monopoly of the telegraphs at the present day.

but throw them relatively further from one another. Thus enabled to defy local and partial discontent, the Romans found themselves at liberty to concentrate the chief forces of the province on the German frontier, where its tranquillity was threatened, not by internal disturbances, but by foreign invasion. On the left bank of the Rhine Augustus established two formidable encampments, each containing four legions, which, at a later period in his reign, were quartered in smaller detachments on a long line of fortified posts. These armaments, ample as they might appear, were further reinforced by inviting unsettled hordes from the German side to take up their residence within the Roman frontier, and thus opposing barbarians to the barbarians themselves.[1] Cæsar himself had been the first to introduce this policy, to which his successors in after times attached increasing importance. The legions were attended by bands of native auxiliaries, furnished and supported by the principal cities, in which the most restless spirits of the province were trained to obey and admire their conquerors, till long absence from their homes completed the process of estrangement.

Progress of Roman civilization in Gaul.

At an earlier period every conquest of the Roman arms was followed by the rush of emigration to the region newly opened to Italian industry and adventure. In the age, however, which we are now considering, the springs of enterprise had become relaxed. The revolution which had brought the products of every land in an unceasing stream to Rome itself, had left the Romans satisfied, for the most part, with the indolent enjoyment of wealth and luxury thus wafted to their shores.

[1] Strabo, iv. 3. p. 194.; Tac. *Ann.* xii. 27. The transplantation of the Ubii from the right bank of the Rhine to the district of Cologne and Bonn on the left, was the work of Agrippa, and may be assigned to the year 716. Frandsen, *Agrippa*, p. 102. Suetonius is doubtless incorrect in ascribing it to the emperor himself. Suet. *Oct.* 21.

Nevertheless the influence of their civilization continued to increase abroad in power and attraction. The provincials on every side sought with fatal ardour to naturalize the tastes and habits to which they were prone to ascribe the superiority of their conquerors. Divitiacus, as we have seen, had sojourned for years at Rome, and attended upon Cæsar in his campaigns, without acquiring the use of the Latin idiom. But his countrymen soon wiped out the stain of his indolence or incuriousness. They destined their capital Bibracte, which they now entitled the Hill of Augustus, to be the literary metropolis of Gaul, and embraced with eagerness the imperial present of a school for instruction in the liberal arts.[1] Massilia continued to be the centre of Greek education, and taught the Gauls within the sphere of its influence to become, as the writers of that language fondly phrased it, Philhellenes.[2] The literature of the South flourished for centuries as a brilliant exotic at Tolosa, Arelas, and Vienna: Lugdunum became celebrated for its rhetorical contests.[3] The Gauls, naturally loquacious, litigious, and impassioned in thought and gesture, rushed to the contests of the bar as a congenial exercise, while both medicine and philosophy, imported from abroad, found zealous cultivators among their acute and enquiring spirits.[4] They renounced the stir of the camp and battle-field for the formalities of municipal government. The jealousy of the Italian landlords forbade them to cultivate the

[1] Tac. *Ann.* iii. 43.: "Augustodunum caput gentis . . . . nobilissimam Galliarum sobolem liberalibus studiis ibi operatam."

[2] Strabo, iv. 1. p. 181.: *πόλις τοῖς βαρβάροις παιδευτήριον . . . . . . φιλέλληνας κατεσκεύαζε τοὺς Γαλάτας.*

[3] Ausonius, *de Clar. Urb.*: "Gallula Roma Arelas." The same writer has a series of portraits of the professors of eloquence at Burdigala, not less illustrious in their day perhaps than the commentators in the gallery at Leyden. For Lugdunum see more particularly the well-known passages, Juvenal, i. 44.; Suet. *Calig.* 20.

[4] Strabo, *l. c.*: *σοφιστὰς γοῦν ὑποδέχονται, τοὺς μὲν ἰδίᾳ τοὺς δὲ αἱ πόλεις κοινῇ μισθούμεναι, καθάπερ καὶ ἰατρούς.*

vine and olive, to which their soil has since proved so propitious[1]; but they devoted themselves to raising corn and cattle, particularly horses, together with the fabrication of arms, cloths, and stuffs of various kinds and qualities.[2]

Augustus discountenances the Druids.

The pursuit of arms, arts, and literature might soothe the restlessness of the Gauls, and keep them industrious and obedient. The extension of municipal government contributed to check the excessive influence of the chiefs, and to balance the authority of the priesthood. The spirit of Druidism, the popular religion of the greater part of Gaul, was essentially opposed to the admixture of any foreign civilization, and this element of disaffection the conquerors studied in various ways to counteract. Augustus, in offering citizenship to the most favoured of the nation, made the renunciation of Druidism, as incompatible with Roman usage, a primary condition of its acceptance.[3] Such a mode of discountenancing a suspected cult was a step beyond the ordinary policy of Rome; for hitherto the jealousy of the government had confined itself to forbidding obnoxious practices within the walls of the capital. Augustus affected pious horror at the custom of human sacrifices, which had been expunged, indeed, from the Roman ritual itself within less than a

[1] Cic. *de Republ.* iii. 9.: "Nos vero justissimi homines qui transalpinas gentes oleam et vitem serere non sinimus, quo pluris sint nostra oliveta nostræque vineæ." The prohibition was early defied (see Suet. *Domit.* 7.) and eventually repealed. Vopisc. *Prob.* 18.

[2] In the *Notitia Dignitatum Imp. Occidentis*, c. 32., seven cities of Gaul are enumerated as seats of military manufactures: Argentoratum, Matisco, Augustodunum, Suessiones, Remi, Treviri, and Ambiani. Atrebates was also famous for its fabric of red cloth for the legions. Trebell. *Gallien.* 6. with the notes of Salmasius. "Vestitur Gallia rufis." Martial. Lingones, Santones, and Cadurci manufactured woollen and flaxen fabrics. See Moreau de Jonnès, *Statistique des Peuples Anciens*, p. 661. Comp. also Juvenal, ix. 30. for the coarse character of the Gallic woollens; and Martial, vi. 11.: "Te Cadmea Tyros, me pinguis Gallia vestit."

[3] Suet. *Claud.* 25.: "Religionem Druidarum apud Gallos tantam civibus sub Augusto interdictum."

hundred years, but which the Druids continued undoubtedly to practise more constantly and extensively than had been ever done by the Romans or Etruscans. But while the taking of human life was forbidden, a compromise was made with the priests, who were permitted to puncture the skin of the victim, and sprinkle a few drops of his blood upon the altar.[1]

Introduction of Roman polytheism.

Another and less direct way of emasculating the obnoxious superstition, was to fuse it, by means of real or fancied affinities, with the recognized polytheism of the empire. The great principle of the imperial government, inherited indeed from the republic itself, was to declare the essential unity of the various habits and ideas of its heterogeneous subjects. Druidism, it was now proclaimed, was, in its spirit, no other than the common religion of the Roman world. Cæsar himself had remarked, not without surprise, that the Gaulish priesthood held the same notion about the gods as the *rest of mankind.* Here was the germ of the grand idea for the pacification of the country, which Augustus seized and appropriated. The emperor carried across the Alps the principle which the senate had so often applied to Etruria, Greece, and Asia. The gods of Gaul were admitted to the citizenship of the Roman Olympus, the pantheon of the civilized world. Teutates and Belenus, Arduinna and Belisana, were declared to be merely local and special appellations for the universal divinities of Mercury and Apollo, Diana and Minerva.[2] Taranis was identified with Jove the Thun-

[1] Mela, iii. 2.: "Manent vestigia (i.e. under Claudius, sixty years later) severitatis abolitæ, atque ut ab ultimis cædibus temperant, ita nihilominus, ubi devotos altaribus admovere, delibant."

[2] The collections of inscriptions give numerous examples of the worship of the old Gaulish divinities under the combined Roman and Gaulish names, e.g. Marti Camulo, Minervæ Belisanæ, Apollini Beleno, Marti Belatucardo; sometimes we find such combinations as Beleno Augusto; one inscription in Orelli (1960) gives Ardoinnæ, Camulo, Jovi, Mercurio, Herculi. There are also monuments to the local divinities of Gaul, as Deæ Bibracti, Deæ Deironæ.

derer; Camul or Hesus with Mars, the patron of the conquering city. Augustus dedicated a temple to the god Kirk or Circius, the spirit of the Bise, a blighting wind of the Southern coast, over which he was supposed to reign with malignant influence.[1] So far did he advance in this work of fusion as to claim himself a place among the Gaulish deities, and to encourage his flatterers to invoke his divinity in connexion with the genii of their own cities.[2] A few years later we shall see them erect an altar and concentrate a ritual in honour of Augustus and Rome.

Worship of Augustus in Gaul.

Such was the specious compromise of religious sentiment which the Gauls were invited to accept. As usual in such cases, in the towns and among the higher classes, the new ideas flourished in the sunshine of political favour; while the multitude, particularly in the remoter districts, continued to cling the more fervently to their ancient forms and usages. The Druids had to choose between the two classes of devotees, the courtly and powerful, the rude and sincere. Whatever their interest might have prompted, their love of country, their old habits and convictions, above all their pride of caste and reputed sanctity, forbade them for the most part to acquiesce in a sacrilege committed by the hands of foes and strangers. They kept sullenly aloof from the imperial blandishments, persisting in the practice, discountenanced but not yet forbidden, of their rude but imposing ceremonies; they fostered the spirit of national hatred among the conquered people, maintained in secret the reminiscence of ancient glory and independence, and at length, when

Discontent of the Druids.

[1] Senec. *Qu. Nat.* v. 17.: "Divus certe Augustus templum illi (Circio), quum in Gallia moraretur, et vovit et fecit." Lucan, i. 407.: "Solus *sua litora* turbat Circius."

[2] "Augusto sacrum et Genio civitatis Biturigum Viviscorum." Gruter, *Inscr.* p. 227. Thierry, *Gaulois*, iii. 258.

the opportunity arrived, unfurled the standard of revolt, and once more led their clans against the Roman legions, with the watchwords of empire and freedom.[1]

Augustus satisfied with the promise of tribute from the Britons.

Besides keeping in check both the Druids within and the Germans beyond the frontier, two things were still wanting to secure the subjection of the Gauls, and to give free course to the imperial plans for their social regeneration. The first of these was to control the vaunted freedom of the neighbouring tribes of Britain, which Cæsar himself had felt to imperil the security of his yet unorganized conquests. The constant and increasing intercourse between the opposite coasts, while it consolidated the power of the island chiefs, might sap the foundations of submission on the continent. But Augustus was too cautious to engage in an undertaking of such magnitude as the invasion of a region, the resources and even the size of which were but imperfectly known to him, and where he might find it impossible, even after a first success, either to advance or recede with honour. He accepted with alacrity the renewed promise of annual tribute, however little he might expect its punctual fulfilment, and trusted to address and intrigue, and the distribution among the native chiefs of honours and bribes, for the gradual preparation of a future conquest. Meanwhile the Romans continued alternately to conjure up pictures of the rudeness and inhospitality of the British barbarians, and again to amuse themselves with the thought of seeing them led in chains along the Sacred way[2]; but while fully convinced that their arms and counsels were alike invincible, they were

[1] Tac. *Hist.* iv. 54. 59.: "Ne deessent libertati .... juravere pro imperio Galliarum." Thierry, *l. c.*

[2] Hor. *Od.* iii. 4. 33.: "Visam Britannos hospitibus feros."
Epod. 7.: "Intactus aut Britannus ut descenderet
Sacra catenatus via."

content to leave the glory of the triumph to another generation.[1]

Operations for securing the passes of the Alps.

After securing the conquered people from contact with external liberty, it was requisite to strengthen the bonds which strained them to the conquerors themselves. Like the captive chained to the arm of the soldier who guarded him, the provinces were bound to Rome by the great military ways. But these, though extending through the length of Italy, and again from the frontier to the extremities of the provinces beyond, had been long intercepted by the rugged barrier of the Alps, the perils of which were aggravated by the jealous ferocity of their native tribes. Many an invader indeed had penetrated them from either side. The Gauls and Romans had alternately burst through every obstacle, to strike the foe couched in fancied security beyond. The opposition of the natives had succumbed to the resistless determination of a Hannibal, or the overwhelming armaments of a Pompeius. On the other hand, in the intervals of these international conflicts, the spirit of traffic had tempted solitary passengers to thread the defiles, and trample a narrow pathway through the everlasting snows, while they purchased the forbearance of the mountaineers by a regular tribute. Polybius could enumerate in his time three routes over the western Alps, which he distinguished by the names of the tribes on the Italian side, through whose territories they ran. On the one hand lay the coast-road through the lands of the Ligurians; on the other that through the country of the Salassi, or the valley of the Dora Baltea; while a third, between the two, traversed the

[1] It was perhaps popularly believed that the Britons had actually placed themselves under Roman authority. Compare the expression of so grave and sensible a writer as Strabo, half a century later: *καὶ οἰκείαν σχέδον τι παρεσκεύασαν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ὅλην τὴν νῆσον.* iv. 5. p. 200.

region of the Taurini, along the defile of the Dora Susina.[1] Of these the first was most commonly adopted by the Romans under the republic; and the Aurelian way, which conducted from Rome to the Cisalpine frontier on the west, was extended under the name of Julia into the Province. The hostility, however, of the unsettled tribes of Liguria made it often impracticable, and Pompeius effected a securer passage for his troops, that perhaps which now conducts over the Mont Genévre, while Cæsar, at least on one memorable occasion, penetrated into Gaul by the pass of the Cenis. The final subjugation of the Ligurians was effected by Augustus, and commemorated, with that of the other tribes of the Western Alps, on a monument, still remaining, not far from Monaco.[2] Henceforth the coast, or Cornice road, became as safe as it was commodious for communication with the south of Gaul. At the same time the path over the Cenis, the nearest route to Lugdunum, was improved and secured by treaty with Cottius, the king of the Cottian Alps, which included the spurs and summits of the Cenis, Genévre, and Monte Viso. The barbarian chief was allowed to retain a nominal sovereignty in return for his zeal and fidelity, and the bounds of

[1] Strabo, iv. 6. p. 209.: διὰ Λιγύων μὲν τὴν ἔγγιστα τῷ Τυῤῥηνικῷ πελάγει· εἶτα τὴν διὰ Ταυρίνων, ἣν Ἀννίβας διῆλθεν· εἶτα τὴν διὰ Σαλασσῶν. These are still the principal routes for entering Italy from the west. It is uncertain whether Polybius was aware that there were in fact two practicable passes through the Salassi—those of the two St. Bernards, or the Pennine and Graian Alps, meeting at Aosta, and two also through the Taurini—those of the Cenis and Genévre, which were both known as the Cottian Alps, meeting at Susa. But if, as is not improbable, he was only thinking of the descents into Italy, he would not stop to particularise every separate road he might be acquainted with.

[2] Strabo, iv. 6. The spot is indicated by the name of a village, Turbia (Tropæa), Mannert, ix. 271. The inscription is given at length by Pliny, *H. N.* iii. 24. It records the names of forty-four conquered tribes. The Ligurians, as we read in Dion, liv. 24., were finally reduced in 740, but as the inscription is dated Aug. Imp. xiiii. it cannot have been set up earlier than 746. See below.

Italy continued for a century to be placed at Ad Fines or Avigliana, the first ascent of the mountains.[1] But he was made to feel his entire dependence on his patrons by the galling spectacle of a Roman colony planted at the entrance of his dominions, Augusta of the Taurini, or Turin. Beyond this Alpine tract lay the cluster of the Graian mountains and the pass of the Little St. Bernard, with which also the Romans were already familiar, and by which Cæsar seems to have sometimes travelled. The mountaineers, named, as we have seen, Salassi, who occupied the Italian side of this pass, as well as of the Great St. Bernard further on, constantly resented the intrusion of strangers. Cæsar himself had once lost his baggage in a skirmish with them.[2] In the year 729 Terentius Varro, who had been charged with the task of reducing them, persuaded them to treat, and then attacked them unprepared, and captured the whole tribe.[3] The victims of this signal treachery, 8,000 fighting men and 36,000 old men, women, and children, were sold into slavery; and it was stipulated that their masters should in no case emancipate them under a period of twenty years. At the point where the two streams meet which form the Dora Baltea, the emperor founded a military colony, to which he

[1] The Cottian people received Latinitas, and Cottius obtained, with the name M. Julius, the title of præfectus. See the inscription on the arch of Susa erected by him (Orell. 626.): "Civitates quæ sub eo præfecto fuerunt." Comp. Strabo, *l. c.*; Amm. Marcell. xv. 10. The date of this inscription is fixed to 745 by the words Aug. Imp. xiii. Trib. pot. xv.; Fischer, *Roem. Zeittafeln.*

[2] Strabo, iv. 6. 205.: *ἐσύλησαν δέ ποτε καὶ χρήματα Καίσαρος, καὶ ἐπέβαλον κρημνοὺς στρατοπέδοις, πρόφασιν ὡς ὁδοποιοῦντες ἢ γεφυροῦντες ποταμούς.* The same writer relates that the Salassi mulcted Decimus Brutus one drachma per man, when he crossed their mountains in his flight from Mutina.

[3] This Varro was a Licinius Murena, adopted by an A. Terentius Varro, whose name he accordingly bore. He continued, however, to be sometimes called by his original designation. For the conquest of the Salassi see Dion, liii. 25.; Liv. *Epit.* cxxxv.; Suet. *Oct.* 21.; Plin. *Hist. Nat.* iii. 21.

gave the name of Augusta Prætoria, now Aosta, to assure for ever the safe passage of troops and wayfarers; and at the entrance of the town he erected a triumphal arch to attest the utility and glory of his conquest.[1] The reduction of the Salassi, the most formidable of the Alpine tribes, coincided with the submission of the Cantabrians; and Augustus, while still occupied with the settlement of affairs in Spain, could command the temple of Janus to be once more closed at Rome.[2] This speedy repetition of the auspicious solemnity of four years previously, shows how popular the idea of peace now was with the Romans; it marks the striking change that had taken place in the character of the times and the people, and what a field was open for the creation of a new national policy.

Progress of the Roman arms in Mœsia and Thrace.

Enough has been said to show how means of access were finally secured for the Roman arms to the nations beyond the western Alps. Henceforth the conquerors and their subjects, in that quarter, might tranquilly coalesce. To occupy the defiles of the mountains to the east was a matter of hardly less importance, in order to reach the Rhætians, the Vindelicians, and the Pannonians, with whom Rome had become gradually implicated in almost constant hostilities. Our account, however, of its conflicts in this quarter may be conveniently deferred. Beyond the Adriatic Augustus had shared in person the hardships and perils of the Roman warfare against the Dalmatians and Illyrians, the success of which, if effected by no brilliant victories,

[1] Dion, liii. 25.; Strabo, iv. 6. p. 206.

[2] Dion, liii. 26. Oros. vi. 21.; "Cantabricæ victoriæ hunc honorem Cæsar detulit, ut tunc quoque belli portas claustro cohiberi juberet. Ita tunc secundo per Cæsarem, quarto post urbem conditam clausus est Janus." This does not of course imply that Rome had never been at peace but twice before Augustus, in the legendary period of Romulus and Numa, but that no chief had been encouraged by the temper of the times to make a political merit of restoring it.

was not the less solid and permanent. But the advance of his lieutenants was not checked by the range of the Mons Bæbius, which separates the waters of the Adriatic from those of the Danube and the Euxine. Forty years before Actium, while Lucius Lucullus was engaging Mithridates in Asia, his brother Marcus first traversed the vast plains of Mœsia, and checked the league of Scythians and Sarmathians with which the king of Pontus was meditating to penetrate into Italy.[1] The dread of such a combination among the unknown hordes of the North survived the overthrow of the man, who alone, perhaps, could have hoped effectually to wield it. Accordingly, among the projects of Cæsar, which divided his attention with the task of chastising the Parthians, was that of a military promenade along the northern shores of the Euxine and Mæotis. His successor shared, indeed, in no such romantic visions; but he allowed his lieutenants to follow in the track of Marcus Lucullus, to check the aggressions of the nomade races of the plains, and reduce the Greek colonies on the western coast of the Euxine to more direct obedience.[2] Istrus and Dionysopolis, Odessus and Tomi, Calatis and Apollonia, accepted his powerful protection against the Mœsians encamped around them, and the Getæ, Iazyges, and Dacians, who crossed the Danube and poured over the morasses of lower Scythia.[3] These places became the outposts of the Roman power, the factories of Roman commerce, in some cases the prisons of Roman tyranny; but the subjugation of Mœsia itself continued through the reign of Augustus to be merely nominal; it was

[1] A.U. 681. B.C. 73. Liv. *Epit.* xcvii.; Eutrop. vi. 7.; Oros. vi. 3.
[2] Dion, li. 23—27.
[3] The sites of these places lay on the Bulgarian coast, but none of them, I believe, have been clearly identified. For the names of the hostile nations by which they were threatened, see Ovid in the *Tristia* and *Ex Ponto.* Virgil and Horace mention the Daci. Ukert, *Geogr. der Griech. und Roem.* pt. iii. § 22.

not till the time of his successor that tribute was first exacted from it, when it became annexed to the province of Illyricum.[1] Some portions of this latter country were suffered to continue under the sovereignty of native chieftains, who were dignified with the title of king, and alliance with Rome, in return for the real surrender of their independence. The victories which he claimed over the Mœsians, indecisive as they were, gained for M. Crassus the honours of a triumph. In Thrace he was emulated by a Lentulus and a Piso. Rome was appalled by the accounts these commanders transmitted of the ferocity of their captives, who gnawed, it was said, their chains in the fury of a savage despair.[2]

The kingdom of Mauretania given to Juba.

From the northern we may pass once more to the southern frontier of the empire, and the remote realms of the Moor and the Numidian, where Augustus without a foe or rival could make a graceful exhibition of moderation and generosity. The sway of the Mauretanian Bocchus extended from the shores of the Atlantic to the city of Salda, and its independence had been guaranteed by Julius Cæsar after the battle of Thapsus. He had enlarged it, moreover, with a portion of Juba's dominions, or rather, perhaps, restored to it some territories which the Numidian had wrested from it. This donation was confirmed by Octavius, to whom Bocchus continued to his death in devoted obedience. Upon this event, which occurred in 721, the triumvir, it might be expected, would annex this sovereignty to the empire. He abstained, however, from this aggression, and a few years later, in 729, appointed Juba, the son of the late king of Numidia, who had been educated at Rome, and imbued with due veneration for Roman institutions, to rule as a friend and ally over it. At the same time he gave the young

[1] Appian, *Bell. Illyr.* c. 30.

[2] Florus, iv. 12.

chieftain for wife Cleopatra Selene, the daughter of Antonius and his Egyptian paramour, and even transferred to their protection her brothers Ptolemæus and Alexander. The respect and even favour he thus displayed to the children of his great enemy, whom Octavia herself had bred up with her own children, deserves to be honourably recorded. It was intended, perhaps, as a mark of his sincere affection for his noble sister.[1]

The dominions of the peaceful and studious Juba were enlarged by the addition of the tract which lies eastward from Salda to the river Ampsaga. This was the boundary of the Roman province of Africa, which extended from hence to the greater Syrtis; the ancient domain of Carthage having been increased by the accession of the conquered realm of Numidia. This region had been completely pacified by the wise administration of Cæsar; nor did it ever again betray an inclination to espouse the republican cause. When the ports of Italy were opened to its ample stores of grain, it advanced rapidly in wealth and importance, and even the extortions of its prefect Sallustius failed to shake its fidelity. On the second division of the empire between the triumvirs, its importance was such that it could be assigned, with some appearance of respect and good faith, as the sole portion of one of the contracting parties. After the overthrow of Lepidus, Augustus considered the province as his own conquest, and of all his possessions there was none that caused him so little anxiety or expense. A single legion sufficed to maintain it, and the emperor could concede its government to the senate without prejudice to his own interests; nor throughout the long period of his reign did it ever require his presence, a fact which could be affirmed of only two provinces of

The province of Africa.

[1] Dion, li. 15., liii. 26.; Strabo, xvii. 3. p. 828.

the empire, one doubtless the most obscure, the other, perhaps, the most tranquil of all.[1]

The Cyrenaica.

Beyond the great Syrtis eastward lay the province of the Cyrenaica, which enjoys throughout the whole course of Roman history a remarkable immunity from political vicissitudes. Surrendered to the republic by the will of its last Macedonian sovereign, Ptolemæus Apion, it was for a time allowed to retain its freedom, on payment of a moderate tribute. Upon the pretext, however, of quarrels occurring between its cities, the Romans shortly afterwards interfered: Lucullus formed it into a province about the year 680, and Metellus combined it under one government with the opposite island of Crete.[2] To the transfer of its allegiance, and again to the loss of its independence, it submitted without a murmur, and gave its annual tribute of the gum silphium, which was worth its weight in silver, without repining. The sword was never required to enforce its submission. In the civil wars, indeed, it ventured to assert its indifference to either side, and it was fortunate, when for a moment it refused admission to the republican force under Cato, to meet with

[1] Sardinia and Africa. Suet. *Oct.* 47. The Cyrenaica should, I believe, be added. It is remarkable, however, that the Fasti record no less than five triumphs over Africa, that is, over the wild tribes on the frontier, such as the Garamantes and others (see Plin. *H.N.* v. 5.), in the early years of the empire; those, namely, of Statilius Taurus, A.U. 720; of L. Cornificius, 722; of L. Autronius Pætus, 725; of L. Sempronius Atratinus, 733; and of L. Cornelius Balbus, 735. This Balbus was nephew to Cæsar's friend. Pliny remarks that he was the only foreigner (i.e. from beyond Italy) who ever enjoyed the honour. He was, moreover, the last Roman subject who triumphed. The province of Africa being senatorial, the emperor scrupled thus long to curtail the right of the senate to reward its own officers.

[2] The precise date of the reduction of the Cyrenaica is still a matter of dispute in consequence of the differing statements of Eutropius, vi. 9., and Appian, *Bell. Civ.* i. 111. See Becker's *Roem. Alt.* iii. 1. 222. note. The union of Crete and Cyrene continued under Augustus, who made it a senatorial province under a proprætor with the title of proconsul. See an inscription in Gruter, p. 415. 5.

an equitable opponent who abstained from chastising its presumption. Throughout the long period of its connexion with Rome the Cyrenaica attached itself to no political movements, nor, remote and obscure as it was, did it ever become the battlefield of contending parties. Nor was it less favoured by the blessings of nature. Its configuration is that of a large segment of a circle projecting into the Mediterranean; and it consists of a series of terraces rising one behind another, like the seats of a vast inverted theatre, to a depth of eighty or an hundred miles into the interior, till bounded by a range of lofty summits which protect it from the simoom of the desert. Upon these terraces, fanned by cool breezes from the sea, grow the products of as many different climates; and the fortunate inhabitants of its five cities gathered, in a succession of harvests prolonged through eight months of the year, the grains of the north and the fruits of the south of Europe, together with the gums and perfumes of Asia and Africa.[1] One only drawback to such manifold advantages is recorded in the annual recurrence of a plague of locusts: to this must be added the customary extortion of the Roman officials, as similar in kind, and repeated in similar succession. Nevertheless, the Cyrenaica, if not free from this endemic pestilence, may have escaped better than most of its kindred provinces; no instance, at least as far as I remember, occurs of a public scandal in this quarter.

The province of Egypt and the regions bordering on the Arabian desert.

Crossing the elevated plain of the Libyan desert, and descending the Catabathmus, its eastward slope, we alight on the fertile valley of the Nile, the latest and most precious acquisition of Rome. Little more than half a century had elapsed since the first political inter-

[1] Herod. iv. 198, 199.; Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xiii. 4.; xvii. 30; and other authorities referred to in the article "Cyrenaica," Smith's *Dict. Anc. Geography.*

course of the Romans with the Egyptians, and in that brief period the arms, and still more the craft, of the Western conquerors had reduced the kingdom of the Ptolemies to complete servitude. The neighbouring realm of Palestine was traversing with slower and less direct steps the same fated cycle from independence to servitude, but at this moment, as we have seen, it had only reached the stage of royal vassalage. At no extremity of the empire did the pulse of Roman life beat more energetically than in these regions. The south-eastern angle of the Mediterranean had become the common theatre of the commercial activity of all nations. Greeks and Syrians, Jews and Ethiopians, Persians and Arabians were all mingled together at this central focus; but the Romans, more resolute and self-confident than any, more shrewd perhaps and keen in business than most of their competitors, were thrusting themselves into every emporium of trade, and founding factories in every haven. Rome had long been glutted with the glories of Grecian civilization: statues and bronzes, plate and jewels, had been poured with unbounded profusion into her markets: but the luxury of the masters of the world, and not less of their mistresses, was now taking another direction, and the purveyors to their taste and cupidity were ransacking the east and south of Asia for gums and spices, silks, ivory, and costly woods, for all the most curious products of India and Arabia, their birds of gayest plumage, and their slaves, bedizened with gems and fragrant with aromatic odours.[1]

[1] Ovid, *Amor.* ii.: "Psittacus Eois imitatrix ales ab Indis."
Virg. *Geo.* i. 57.: "India mittit ebur, molles sua thura Sabæi."
Hor. *Od.* i. 29.: "Puer quis ex aula capillis
Ad cyathum statuetur unctis."

For the vegetable products of India and Arabia, see particularly Plin. *H. N.* xii. 8. foll. The objects of Indian commerce, at its fullest extent, are enumerated by the author of the *Periplus maris Erythræi*, and in the *Digest*, xxxix. 4. 16, de publicanis et vectigalibus. But these authorities refer to a later period.

The chief emporium of this traffic was Petra, the rock-hewn city, which filled a narrow gorge in the mountains of Seir, and kept the gate of the eastern and western desert. From a port on the Arabian shore of the Red Sea, to which the Greeks gave the name of Leuce Come or the White Village, the merchandise of India, Arabia, and Ethiopia, was carried on the backs of camels to Petra, and from thence to Rhinocolura on the Mediterranean, for dispersion throughout the Western world.[1] But the producers of these luxuries, living in the rudest simplicity, demanded few of the products of Europe in return, and Italy continued for centuries to exchange for them its precious metals only. In the year 730, the higher circles of the capital were amused and excited by the rumour, that the emperor was about to send an expedition to acquire the native seats of these splendid luxuries. The actual views of the government were kept perhaps in studied obscurity, and free scope was given to the wildest ideas of avarice and ambition. The East, in the imagination of the Romans, glittered with gold and jewels, as with the rays of its own morning sun. The defeat of Crassus was still unavenged, the disasters of Antonius unretrieved; the fabled treasures of the great Parthian cities invited the hand of the spoiler, who knew nothing of the treaties his ruler had made with their chiefs, or of the motives of the policy which still kept his sword in its scabbard. With ideas thus vague and unsettled, the objects of the meditated enterprise were easily confounded in the minds of the Romans. At home they had little notion of commerce apart

[1] Strabo tells us that in his time, within half a century, the route of Arabian commerce had changed to Myos Hormus and Alexandria by the Nile. This was in consequence of the great impulse given to the trade of Egypt by its Roman masters. Strabo, xvi. 4.: *νυνὶ δὲ τὸ πλέον εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν τῷ Νείλῳ κατάγεται, τὰ δ' ἐκ τῆς Ἀραβίας καὶ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς εἰς Μυὸς ὅρμον, ἔνθ' ὑπέρθεσις εἰς Κοπτὸν τῆς Θηβαΐδος καμήλοις, ἢ διώρυγι τοῦ Νείλου, κειμένῃ εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν.*

from conquest, and their cupidity was inflamed by the splendours paraded before them in the triumphs of Pompeius and Augustus. Accordingly, in the current language of the day, as we may gather it from the poets of the court, the arms of Rome were to be directed against the Parthians and Medes, the Arabians and Indians, the Bactrians and Seres.[1] The land of the morning was to be explored sword in hand, subjugated and ransacked. The young nobles cast aside the tomes of the philosophers, and equipped themselves in breastplates of Iberian steel, abjuring the tame lessons of content and simplicity for the prospect of illimitable booty.[2] Augustus might shudder, perhaps, at seeing how little the peaceful occupations to which he had directed the Roman youth had really taken hold of their minds. Neither did it enter into his views to hazard any great scheme of Oriental conquest: he shrank from risking an encounter with the formidable Parthians; he limited his preparations to a scale proportioned to an exploring expedition, rather than an invading armament.

Expedition of Ælius Gallus against the Arabians. A.U. 730. B.C. 24.

Even at a later period, indeed, sober historians did not scruple to affirm that the object of Augustus was either to form relations of commerce with the Arabs and Ethiopians, or, if necessary, to reduce them to submission by force of arms; but the account they give of the means employed seems to show that no armed occupation of distant regions was actually contemplated. The force placed under the command of Ælius Gallus, the officer chosen for the service, amounted only to ten

[1] Compare Hor. *Od.* i. 29.; Propert. ii. 10., iii. 4.; Virgil, *Æn.* vii. 604.:

"Sive Getis inferre manu lachrymabile bellum
Eoisve Arabisve parant, seu tendere ad Indos,
Auroramque sequi, Parthosque reposcere signa."

[2] Hor. *l. c.*: "Cum tu coemptos undique nobiles
Libros Panæti, Socraticam et domum,
Mutare loricis Iberis
Pollicitus meliora tendis."

thousand men, forming apparently no more than a single legion, with auxiliaries, of whom one thousand were Nabathæans and five hundred Jews.[1] The legionaries were drafted from the army of Egypt, and Gallus himself had recently served there under the prefect Petronius. The blunders, however, which he committed from the very outset, bespeak a strange want of local information. The Romans, with their usual vanity, ascribed them to the treachery of their adviser Syllæus, a minister of the Nabathæan king Obodas, who sought, they declared, both in his own interest and that of his master, to harass the invaders in every possible way. But the first delay was caused by the error of equipping large war-galleys for the navigation of the Arabian coast, which is full in many parts of shoals and rocks. The expedition was kept waiting at Cleopatris at the head of the gulf of Heroopolis till a new flotilla of smaller vessels could be equipped. When all was ready it dropped down the gulf to the point of Drepanum, and then crossed the mouth of the Elanitic gulf to the Arabian coast. Here it ought to have made good its landing, and taken the caravan route southward in the direction of the spice regions of Arabia Felix or Yemen, to which it was bound. But Syllæus, we are told, assured Gallus that there was no practicable coast route, and persuaded him to continue his course by sea as far as Leuce Come (Haura). In this latter part of its voyage, the fleet suffered severely from the difficulties of the navigation and the violence of winds and tides; and the men were already dispirited when they first touched land after a passage of fifteen days. From

[1] Strabo, xvi. 4.: *ἔχων περὶ μυρίους πεζοὺς τῶν ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου Ῥωμαίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων, ὧν ἦσαν Ἰουδαῖοι μὲν πεντακόσιοι, Ναβαταῖοι δὲ χίλιοι.* These words have been generally understood to mean that there were 10,000 Romans besides allies; but I believe my interpretation is more correct. Two legions constituted the ordinary garrison of Egypt, and Ælius Gallus was only a subordinate to the prefect.

hence it was determined to march into the spice country, opening relations with the intervening states, chastising such as opposed or betrayed any jealousy of the armed strangers, and leaving garrisons at the most important posts for the security of their return. But though the object of the expedition was not properly warlike, it was the crafty policy of Syllæus to engage it in hostilities with tribe after tribe, in order to exhaust and finally destroy it. Before, however, the Romans could move in advance, they were dreadfully harassed by sickness, which particularly affected their mouths and legs, and seems to have been the same which modern travellers have described as endemic on that part of the coast.[1] When, at last, after passing a summer and the succeeding winter under these distresses, the army was ready to march, Syllæus directed it into the country of Aretas, a chief in alliance with Obodas. This is the name frequently given by the Greeks and Romans to chiefs of northern Arabia, and from this and other circumstances it seems probable that the route of Gallus lay, not southward, in the first instance, but eastward, into the central plateau of the great peninsula, known by the name of El Nedjed; and that the territory of Aretas himself was El Kasim, lying on the caravan track from Medina to Bahrein on the Persian Gulf.[2] Even here,

[1] Strabo says, *στομακάκκῃ τε καὶ σκελοτύρβῃ πειραζομένης τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐπιχωρίοις πάθεσι*, which is curiously confirmed by the observations of Burckhardt (*Travels in Arabia*, i. 182. 446, &c.): "My stay at Djidda was prolonged to three weeks, chiefly in consequence of sore legs, a disease very prevalent on this unhealthy coast, where every bite, if neglected, becomes a serious wound. . . . I believe that one-fourth of the population of Djidda is constantly afflicted with ulcers on the legs." See Forster's *Hist. Geogr. of Arabia*, ii. 280. Djidda, it should be remarked, is 300 miles south of Haura; but Burckhardt's observations apply to the whole coast of the Hedjaz.

[2] Strabo says that Syllæus led the Romans *κυκλοπορείαις*. Mr. Forster justly remarks, "While Gallus might be and was deceived, a Roman general could not be altogether befooled by his Arab conductor. Total ignorance of the country might betray him, as it had betrayed Crassus, into taking a totally wrong road—an error which

though the country was not unfriendly, and the track not unfrequented, the strangers were subjected, by the artifices of Syllæus, to severe privations; but when, at last, they turned southward across an inhospitable desert, in quest of Agrana (Nedjran), at the first descent of the hills towards the Red Sea, their sufferings became intense. Three months were spent in reaching this spot, where the Romans found rest and refreshment; the chief having fled at their approach, and the tribe having yielded with little resistance. Six days beyond Agrana, the Romans fought a battle on the banks of a river, in which they boasted of destroying ten thousand Arabs with the loss of two men only. Nevertheless, from hence every step was contested, and six months had passed before they reached the city of Marsyaba, which lay within two days of the spice country, the cherished object of their expedition. But the resistance they here encountered, together with the want of water, determined them to retire from before its walls at the end of six days. They had become persuaded of the treachery of Syllæus, who had led them by a painful and circuitous route, in order, as was supposed, to employ their arms in chastising tribes unfriendly to his master. Exhausted as the Romans were, their leader relinquished the attempt to penetrate southward, and commenced his

his subsequent better knowledge of the country enabled him eventually to correct; but no amount of ignorance could induce him to be led, like the characters of a modern drama, round and round a horse-pond, as must have been pretty much the case, could we believe him to have employed alternately six months and two months in his passage through the same line of country. Yet this is the ground taken by our highest modern authorities. D'Anville, Gosselin, Vincent, all agree in conducting and reconducting the Roman army through the Hedjaz." Forster supposes, on the contrary, that the army described two sides of a triangle on its advance, and took the base on its retreat. See below. Pliny, *H.N.* vi. 32, refers to this expedition, and gives a list of towns which the Romans occupied on their route; but their names afford little or no assistance in determining it.

retreat. Having once more reached Agrana, instead of retracing the route by which he had come, he turned to the left in the direction of the Red Sea, from whence he led his army, apparently without impediment, along the coast. On reaching Nera Come (Yembo), where he arrived in sixty days, he fell in with the flotilla which had been despatched southward to wait on his movements, and, once more embarking with the remnant of his soldiers, crossed over the gulf to the Bay of Hormus.[1] The failure of the expedition must have been a severe mortification to Augustus, whose power rested to so great a degree on the reputation of success; but he threw a veil over it, by retaining and even promoting Gallus in his service, and by refraining from the infliction of punishment on Syllæus. The one on his return was appointed prefect of Egypt, the other ventured to appear in person at Rome, where he negotiated either for his master or for himself, but eventually, being

[1] The main points to be determined in tracing the route of this expedition are Leuce Come, Nera Come, and Marsyaba. The two first of these are, I think, satisfactorily settled by Mr. Forster (*Geogr. of Arabia*, ii. 277. foll.). The first corresponds in signification with El Haura, the White City, and also in its distance (fifteen days' voyage) from Cleopatris, the distance in miles, taking the sinuous line of the coast, being stated at 470, or 31 miles a day. Mr. Forster shows also, from Golius, that Nera, a barbarous Greek word for water, agrees in meaning with Yembo, the name of a town eighty miles south of Haura on the coast of the Hedjaz. Marsyaba may very possibly be Saba or Sabbia, lying midway between the modern Mecca and Mareb, with the former of which it has been identified by Gosselin, but by D'Anville, followed by Gibbon, with the latter. Mareb, however, lies in the centre of the spice region, while Mecca is too distant from it. I think, with Mr. Forster, that Gallus went eastward from Haura in the first instance (and this was the opinion of Burckhardt and of Walckenaer, *Vie d'Horace*, i. 564.), though I cannot imagine that he got, as that writer represents, almost within sight of the Persian Gulf. Mr. Forster lays great stress on the mention of the river, which he thinks he can prove was the Sancan, the only stream in the vicinity of Nedjran. But his identification of Agrana with Nedjran on the caravan route from the Persian Gulf into Yemen cannot be fully relied on, and the maps I have been able to consult differ widely from each other.

detected in a fresh treason, expiated his offence with death.[1]

While Gallus was thus occupied in Arabia, his superior officer Petronius, the governor of Egypt, was employed in chastising the encroachments of the Ethiopians on the other side of the Red Sea. During the latter years of the feeble and enervated rule of the Macedonians the resources of that fertile country were allowed to run to waste, and even the defence of their frontiers had been neglected. While Alexandria flourished from the concourse of all nations in its streets, and from the increasing development of Oriental trade, the old cities of Upper Egypt had utterly decayed, the industry of the native Copts, no longer strung to the utmost by importunate taskmasters, had relaxed and dwindled away, and the Arabs of Nubia and Ethiopia had encroached upon their domains, and occupied their crumbling halls.[2] The artificial channels for the irrigation of the soil, on which the whole welfare of Lower Egypt depended, had become choked with sand; the canal from the Nile to the head of the Red Sea, begun by Sesostris or Darius, and which the Ptolemies had undertaken to complete, had either been left unfinished or was rendered useless from want of repairs; the traffic of India, which, even in default of continuous water-communication, might have been brought by a short portage to the valley of the Nile, had been allowed to become diverted to the route of Petra; and not more than twenty vessels were despatched annually from Arsinoe to the

Petronius the successor of Cornelius Gallus in Egypt.

[1] Strabo, *l. c.*: *ἔτισε δὲ καὶ δίκας ἐν Ῥώμῃ, προσποιούμενος μὲν φιλίαν, ἐλεγχθεὶς δὲ πρὸς αὐτῇ τῇ πονηρίᾳ καὶ ἄλλα κακουργῶν, καὶ ἀποτμηθεὶς τὴν κεφαλήν.*

[2] Thus the city of Coptos was occupied jointly by Egyptians and Arabs, that is, Ethiopians. Strabo, xvii. l. p. 815. But the principal evidence on this point is drawn from the large proportion of Arab skulls among the mummies of this period. Sharpe's *Hist. of Egypt*, ch. i. § 3.

Indian Ocean. Augustus undertook to repair all these disorders, and unfold the boundless resources of his new province. But his first prefect, Cornelius Gallus, was found unequal to the charge, in which, besides indulging in personal vanity, he had excited by ill-judged severity the disaffection of an irritable population. He had been removed, as we have seen, from the government of Egypt, and his place had been supplied by C. Petronius, who brought zeal and activity to his work. The new governor speedily quelled the risings of the Alexandrians, and set his legionaries, freed from the task of coercion, to clear the canals and remove the causes of insurrection.[1] When this beneficent work was completed, it was found that a rise of the Nile waters of twelve cubits sufficed to cover a tract of country which had previously required fourteen.[2]

He defends the province from an attack of the Ethiopians. A.U. 732. B.C. 22.

A portion of the army of Egypt was now drafted off on service in Arabia; but about the same time the encroachments of the barbarians on the frontier had become intolerable, and it was necessary to employ a force to chastise them. Petronius repaired to Syene, and demanded of the Ethiopian queen Candace, the restitution of the booty her subjects had carried off, including some statues of the emperor himself. The barbarians retorted by complaints of the aggression of Roman officers on the frontiers; to which Petronius replied that the ruler of Egypt was Cæsar himself, and with him they had to deal and not with his lieutenants. When, not comprehending this argument, they ventured to meet him in the field, they were easily routed, and pursued far into their own territories. Candace, who is described as a woman of great spirit, and the more terrible to behold from the

[1] Suet. *Oct.* 18.
[2] Strabo, xvii. 1. 788. Ten cubits, instead of twelve, according to Groskurd's reading.

loss of an eye, consented to treat for peace with the cession of the spoils demanded, and of the fortified post of Premnis; but no sooner had Petronius withdrawn than she collected her forces to attack the garrison he had left there, and compelled him to rush back in haste to its rescue. Negotiations again ensued, and the Roman referred his adversary to Cæsar himself for terms of permanent pacification. On her demanding *who Cæsar was*, he despatched her envoys to Augustus, who was then in person at Samos, and the emperor, satisfied with their protestations of respect, and sensible of the fruitlessness of attempting to extend his sway into their wild regions, released their nation from the tribute his prefect had imposed on them.[1] On the return of Ælius Gallus from Arabia he was appointed to succeed Petronius in the prefecture. In the progress which he made to Syene he took with him the geographer Strabo, then a young man, to whose personal examinations and inquiries on the spot we owe the minute details about Egypt recorded in his great work.

In the year 733 Augustus once more quitted the seat of his government to make a proconsular progress through the Oriental provinces, and settle their administration on a definite basis. On his way he first visited Sicily, where he planted Roman colonies in Syracuse and other cities, impoverished perhaps, or depopulated, by the effects of the late war, and at the same time withdrew, as it would appear, the privilege of citizenship accorded generally to the islanders by Antonius.[2]

Progress of Augustus into the East. A. U. 733. B. C. 21.

[1] Strabo, xvii. 1. p. 820. The campaign of Petronius is referred to the year 732: Dion, liv. 5. Augustus is supposed to have coveted a footing in Ethiopia or Abyssinia, from the apprehension that the natives might at any time ruin Egypt by turning the course of the Nile into the Red Sea. Such a project was actually entertained by Albuquerque, the great captain of the Portuguese in the East, to punish the Egyptian Sultan for his opposition to the establishments of that people in India. M'Culloch's *Economical Policy*, p. 292.

[2] Among the sixty-eight cities of Sicily enumerated by Pliny (*Hist.*

From thence passing into Greece, he bestowed favours on Sparta, which had been loyal to his interests, while he mulcted the Athenians, guilty of the grossest flattery of his rival, of the most lucrative of their privileges, that of selling the freedom of their city.[1] Thence he crossed to the island of Samos, where he passed the winter, shaming, perhaps, by his simplicity the orgies enacted on the same spot by the wretched Antonius, and receiving the envoys of many vassal potentates, among them, as we have seen, those of the queen of Ethiopia. In the ensuing spring he landed on the continent of Asia, and undertook the arrangement of its political condition, not heeding the distinction he had himself made between the provinces of the emperor and the senate, but exercising, in virtue of his proconsular power, the same unlimited authority throughout all as had been conceded to Pompeius by the Gabinian law.

Political organization of the region of Lower Asia.

Armed with irresponsible power, that great conqueror had prostrated the whole of Lower Asia under the supremacy of Rome; but the dependence to which he had reduced its various districts differed in form and degree. At the commencement of the imperial rule a small portion only of the regions which extended to the Phasis and Euphrates was strictly provincial soil; for in the centre, and by the side of these provinces, certain wide tracts were still allowed to remain in the hands of native princes and priests, in addition to which a few favoured territories were still suffered to call themselves autonomous. The power, however, of the one, and the freedom of the other, were held alike in fact at the mere will of the conquerors. The po-

Nat. iii. 14.) six only are specified as having the Roman franchise. We do not know when the franchise was withdrawn, and the act is ascribed to Augustus only conjecturally. Dureau de la Malle, *Econ. Pol. des Romains*, i. 322.

[1] Dion, liv. 7.; Spanheim, *Orb. Rom.* i. 61.

litical status of all these regions, excepting that of the province of Asia, properly so called, was grounded on the acts of Pompeius, ratified by the decree of the senate; and the system he created continued to subsist in all its principal features into the imperial period. The dissensions of the republic, the conflict of Roman parties in this distant sphere, the irruption of the Parthians, the intrigues of less powerful barbarians on the frontiers, and, above all, the caprice and violence of Antonius, had each in turn assailed and shaken it; Augustus himself, in his rapid progress through Asia on his return from Egypt, had modified it in various particulars. But the work which he meditated was not yet complete, and the same hand which had organized the western half of the empire in accordance with the matured system of the imperial policy, was now employed in finally regulating the affairs of the opposite hemisphere.

The provinces of Asia and Bithynia.

Bithynia and Asia were the only provinces in this quarter which Augustus was content to surrender to the government of the senate. Of these Asia was the earliest acquisition of the republic beyond the Ægean, and comprised the regions of Mysia, Lydia, Caria, and probably the greater part of Phrygia[1]. This magnificent territory had been originally obtained by the testament of the last of the Attali, whose kingdom of Pergamus had been extended by the aid of the Romans themselves far beyond its proper limits. Bithynia had also been acquired by the voluntary cession of its sovereign Nicomedes. When formed into a province it was extended by Pompeius, at the expense of the dominions of Mithridates, as far as the Halys, so as to include the whole seaboard of Paphlagonia, together with a part of Pontus. It was divided from Asia by the Rhyndacus, a river which falls into the Propontis: and

[1] Cic. *pro Flacc.* 27.

its southern frontier was marked by the ridge of Mount Olympus, which separated it from Galatia and Phrygia. These provinces had been subdivided into numerous districts for the convenience of levying the appointed tribute. Thus in Asia there were as many as forty of these regions, each having its chief town[1]; another division was that into conventus or circles for judicial and administrative purposes, much fewer in number and proportionally more extensive. The chief cities of Asia, six in number, were denominated metropoles, and of these Ephesus was the principal, and the capital of the whole province; but in all there were enumerated not less than five hundred.[2] Under the republic both Asia and Bithynia were governed by proprætors, but under the emperors the officers appointed to administer them by the senate took the style and rank of proconsuls.[3]

Compensation or retribution meted to the cities of Asia.

With these arrangements, which constituted the ordinary machinery of provincial government, Augustus did not interfere. His attention was directed to meting out justice to the states and cities which had either sided with his enemies or been maltreated by them. Several autonomous cities were now deprived of their freedom, while others which had suffered, whether from Brutus or Antonius, received munificent compensation by grants of territory or relief from taxation. This retributive policy Augustus had already inaugurated in his earlier progress; but now, after an interval of ten years, he still found his work incomplete, and the claims of those who had suffered in his cause urged him to carry it out to the uttermost. The people of Cyzicus, who had seized some Roman citizens in a popular tumult, scourged and executed

[1] This was the division of Sulla, which was generally maintained by his successors. See Becker, *Roem. Alterth.* iii. 1. 134.

[2] Becker, from Philostr. *vit. Sophist.* p. 36. 21.; and Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* ii. 16. 4.

[3] Strabo, xvii. p. 840.; Dion, liii. 12. 14.

them, were now punished with the loss of their national freedom; a punishment which was inflicted also subsequently on the people of Tyre and Sidon.[1] These cities fell henceforward under the direct control of the proconsul. On the other hand several Asiatic communities were now presented with the Roman or the Latin franchise. The temple of the Grecian Artemis claimed from remote antiquity to confer rights of asylum on the wretches who took refuge within its enclosure. Alexander of Macedon had extended this privilege to the circuit of one stadium around it; Mithridates, letting fly an arrow from the corner of the roof, had slightly overshot this limit, and enlarged the sacred precincts accordingly; but Antonius had doubled the radius of the circle, so as to embrace within its sphere a large portion of the city. The Ephesians themselves exclaimed that this put their homes and hearths in the power of evil-doers, and Augustus performed a popular act in confining the asylum once more within reasonable limits.[2]

Caria and Rhodes.

At the south-western angle of Asia Minor several places on the coast of Caria were held by the Rhodians, whose island still retained a nominal freedom, and vaunted itself as the last stronghold of the maritime and commercial spirit of ancient Greece. Before the establishment of Roman supremacy in the East, Rhodes might not unjustly style herself the mistress of the sea. In the civil wars she had furnished a large fleet to Pompeius, which she had withdrawn from the service of the senate after the defeat of Pharsalia. Her docks and arsenals continued under Augustus to be the objects of her pride and solicitude. Herein still resided, or seemed to reside, the secret of the independence which even the emperor respected, and she punished with death the

[1] Dion, liv. 7.; Suet. *Oct.* 47.

[2] Strabo, xiv. 1. p. 641.: Ἀλεξάνδρου μὲν ἐπὶ στάδιον ἐκτείναντος, Μιθριδάτου δὲ τόξευμα ἀφέντος ἀπὸ τῆς γωνίας τοῦ κεράμου, καὶ δόξαντος ὑπερβαλέσθαι μικρὰ τὸ στάδιον.

prying intruder who ventured covertly to inspect them. The Rhodians offered an asylum moreover to the teachers of rhetoric and philosophy, and to their city many of the young patricians continued long to resort for the highest literary instruction. But they are still more remarkable for the institution among them, unique, it may be said, in antiquity, of a regular poor-law, which seems to have been long established; not, as Strabo remarks, that they were democratically governed, but the aristocracy, in the midst of its pride and power, wisely took this precaution to secure an unfailing supply of efficient operatives and seamen.[1]

Autonomous states of Lycia.

We are not sufficiently acquainted with the mode in which this system of relief was conducted to decide whether it was in fact an instance of prudent generosity, or merely, as in the case of the largesses to the Roman populace, a tribute exacted from contented industry for the satisfaction of turbulent idleness. Allowing, however, that its principle was sound, we cannot but remark how little jealousy the Romans evinced of this example of freedom and public spirit. Not only did they suffer the autonomy of Rhodes within sight of their own subject provinces, but permitted even in their centre the existence of a political confederacy of twenty-three Lycian towns, whose deputies met together in common, as the Greeks and the Ionians had assembled in the days of their independence. From the character of these meetings, as well as from the name of the chief Lycian city, Xanthus, we might imagine that these autonomous communities were themselves of Hellenic origin; but the Greeks refused to acknowledge the affinity, and insisted that they were simply Carian.

[1] Strabo, xiv. 2. p. 653. The constitution of Rhodes, at least at an earlier period, is described as a curious combination of aristocracy and democracy. See Cicero, *de Republ.* iii. 35. At a later period again, Dion Chrysostom and Aristides represent the constitution of Rhodes as popular. Creuzer, *in loc.* Cicero.

At all events, they deserved the respect shown them by the Romans for the honourable way in which, though a maritime people, they abstained from piracy in its palmiest days, and Xanthus at least, which had been delivered by Brutus to pillage, might claim consideration at the hands of Augustus. These little states, however, had suffered so much from the exaction of the Roman generals, that even freedom, with immunity from Roman taxation, seems to have failed to restore their prosperity.[1]

From the Gulf of Pamphylia to that of Issus stretched the province of Cilicia. To this, since the time of Pompeius, not only Pamphylia and Isauria, but also some districts of Pisidia and Phrygia had been appended. Cilicia was regarded by the Romans as a very important possession, not for the wealth of its inhabitants, but, first, as the region from whence the pirates had issued, and within which they were still located after their defeat; and, again, as the key of Syria, with which it was connected by the passes of the Amanus. Accordingly we always find it occupied by a strong military force. Augustus claimed to administer it by officers of his own appointment; but Cyprus, which was at first attached to it, he afterwards restored to the senate.[2] But though the seas were cleared of pirates, and the harbours secured, the mountains of Cilicia were still infested by hordes of robbers; and it was in order to keep these marauders in check without expense to the imperial treasury that the Romans had permitted the existence on the Taurus and Amanus of various petty chieftains with the title of kings.[3] In the period of the civil wars one chief of superior craft or energy had succeeded in absorbing

Cilicia.

Vassal kings allowed to exist in Asia.

[1] Strabo, xiv. 3. p. 664.

[2] Strabo, xvii. 3. p. 840. A. W. Zumpt seems to have satisfactorily shown that Cilicia became annexed to the proconsulate of Syria. *Comment. Epigraph.* ii. 93. foll.

[3] Strabo, xiv. 4. p. 676.

into his own realm the possessions of his neighbours, and was allowed to hold, in dependence on the republic, the gates of Syria and Cilicia. His name was Tarcondimotus; but when he was slain by the side of Antonius at Actium, his son Philopator, who claimed the succession, was displaced by the conquerors, and the throne bestowed upon a younger brother of the same name as the father.[1]

Their subservience to the chiefs of the Roman state.

The disposition of affairs effected by the republic in the Asiatic provinces had remained, for the most part, intact through the series of revolutions which had recently swept over the country. Neither Cæsar nor Brutus and Cassius had changed in any important particular the administration of these territories. Even Antonius, whose sway had been most arbitrary, and whose necessities most exacting, had spared the institutions of these regions, while levying from them the heaviest contributions. But throughout the foreign and allied dependencies of the sovereign state, as far as his hand could reach, he had overthrown dynasties and effaced political landmarks, for the gratification of his caprices, or from lust of gold. Everywhere thrones were to be obtained from him for money, and without money the possession of none was secure. The vassals of the Roman people were transformed into clients of the triumvir, and were summoned at his call to maintain his quarrel against his rival, and the gods and people of Rome herself. They obeyed him reluctantly, and betrayed him without scruple. But the conqueror, who had friends and allies of his own to serve, did not, for the most part, spare them for this tardy service, and few, perhaps, of the whole number of the dependent chiefs of Asia were allowed to retain their authority on the establishment of his power.[2]

[1] Dion, liv. 9.

[2] Dion, li. 2., excepts only Amyntas and Archelaus. But we shall see immediately that there were some others.

Difficult, indeed, was the game which these little tributaries were required to play. The creatures of a proconsul's breath, and the puppets of his caprice, any sense of gratitude for favours conferred might well be lost in the sense of his insolence and their own degradation. Their power, and indeed existence, depended on their turning precisely at the favourable moment in a contest in which they took no interest, but in which their services were demanded by every party in turn. Among the wariest of the number was Amyntas, who had been the minister and general of king Deiotarus. He was sent by his master to the assistance of Brutus and Cassius; but without waiting for the decision of Philippi, which would have been too late, he had the sagacity to augur their discomfiture at an earlier period, and could thus make a merit of his defection.[1] Antonius accordingly rewarded him with the royal title, and gave him, upon the death of Deiotarus, which speedily followed, the greater part of his late master's possessions. His territories extended over the whole of Galatia, the tract between the Halys and the Phasis, together with some portions of Lycaonia and Pamphylia.[2] Having once turned so opportunely, he resolved to play the same game again, and watching the moment when the crimes and follies of Antonius were manifestly hurrying him to his ruin, he contrived to signify his desertion to Octavius just before the battle of Actium.[3] By this second feat he secured the possession of his throne, which he continued to enjoy, with no further trial of his prudence, till his death in 729, whereupon Augustus took the greater part of his dominions, and formed therewith the province of Galatia.

Amyntas, king of Galatia.

Annexation of his territory. A. U. 729.

[1] Dion, xlvii. 48. [2] Dion, xlix. 32.; Strabo, xii. 3. p. 547.
[3] Vell. ii. 84.; Plut. *Anton.* 63.

A similar good fortune, though on a smaller scale, attended the well-timed adhesion to Octavius of Deiotarus Philadelphus. This chief went over to the western triumvir with Amyntas, and was allowed, it would seem, in consequence, to retain his little sovereignty in a part of Paphlagonia, which again, upon his death, became incorporated in the province of Galatia.[1] The same was the fate of several other petty chiefs in this district, and of their territories. Another of the most distinguished of these favourites of fortune was Polemo, the son of a Greek rhetorician, on whom Antonius had bestowed the kingdom of Pontus, comprising the eastern portion of the ample region generally so called, enlarged by the addition of the seaboard of the Euxine, as far, at least, as the river Phasis.[2] Augustus confirmed his title to these dominions, and in 728 conferred upon him the style of friend and ally of the Roman people. He even added eventually to his territories the kingdom of the Bosphorus.[3] Polemo himself was killed in conflict with some of his barbarian neighbours; but his territories continued long to escape the gulf into which so many Asiatic sovereignties were falling, and retained their nominal independence under the sceptre of his widow Pythodoris. This woman was possessed of uncommon abilities, and maintained herself on her throne in the midst of so many hostile or jealous potentates, by the force of her genius and the discreet choice of her second husband. She united her fortunes with those of Archelaus, another client of Augustus, whom Antonius had placed on the throne of Cappadocia in reward for the complaisance of his beautiful mother.[4] To this kingdom, which was originally

Deiotarus, king of Paphlagonia.

Polemo, king of Pontus and the Bosphorus.

[1] Strabo, xii. 3. p. 562.
[2] Strabo, xi. 2. p. 499.
[3] Dion, liii. 25., liv. 24.; Strabo, xi. 2. p. 495.
[4] Dion, xlix. 33.; Strabo, xii. 2. p. 540.

bounded by Galatia and Lycaonia on the west, and the line of the Anti-Taurus on the north, Augustus added a portion of Cilicia[1], and Pythodoris could bring him a further accession in the adjacent realm of the Lesser Armenia. In the centre of their united dominions they founded the city of Sebaste in honour of their patron, and strenuously defended his frontiers against the formidable power of the Parthians.[2]

The province of Syria.

In the conquest of Asia Minor, Sulla and Lucullus, Metellus and Servilius, had each borne a share; but the subjugation of Syria, the fairest gem of the imperial diadem of Rome, was the work of Pompeius alone. The reduction of Gaul, it may be said, was the only achievement that surpassed it, as Cæsar was the only Roman who deserved to be styled superior to the second Alexander. Syria, in its widest extent, comprised the whole tract of country, ill-defined, at least on its eastern frontier, which lay between the Amanus and Euphrates on the north, and the deserts of Mesopotamia and Arabia to the Pelusian isthmus. In Palestine and some other outlying districts, the conqueror had suffered the existence of vassal kings; but Syria proper, with its wealthy cities of Antioch and Damascus, Apamea and Emesa, its active and restless population, its fanatical priesthood, and above all its frontier exposed to powerful and ambitious neighbours, was too precarious a possession to be placed in the hands of any tributary monarch. Accordingly Pompeius had at once enrolled it among the Roman provinces, and had demanded of the senate that a force of several

[1] Strabo, xii. i. p. 535.

[2] Cappadocia on the Taurus, the original kingdom of Archelaus, was formed into a province on his death, A. U. 769. Tac. *Ann.* ii. 42.; Strabo, xii. 1. p. 534.; Lucan, iii. 243.:

"Venere feroces
Cappadoces, duri populus *nunc cultor* Amani."

legions should be permanently quartered in it, for the defence of the most important outpost of the empire. The proconsulate of Syria became the object of every inordinate ambition; and the possession of this dependency, it was soon discovered, was pregnant with far more danger than advantage to the government at home. Cæsar redressed the balance of the East and West, but it was at the expense of creating a new army, and a new general inimical to the privileges of the dominant class. Meanwhile, however, the presence of the legions of Syria had secured the safety of the province against the encroachments of the Parthians, amidst all the troubles of the civil wars, and the terrible disasters of Crassus and Antonius. Accustomed to submission, and trained to the yoke of foreign rulers, by the successive dynasties of the Assyrian, the Persian, and the Macedonian, the natives bore the exactions of their new masters with equanimity: nevertheless Augustus garrisoned their country with a force of four legions.[1] At the northern extremity of this region the little kingdom of Commagene reached to the banks of the Euphrates, and presented the last vestige of the magnificent domain of the Seleucidæ. In the year 723 it was ruled by a king of the name of Mithridates, who, however, was not himself a scion of the Macedonian dynasty.[2] Two years later an Antiochus of Commagene was put to death, as we read, at Rome. The possessor of the throne from this time to the year 734 is not known, but at that period Augustus presented it to another Mithridates, who was but a child.[3]

Herodes, king of Judea.

Two years before the Eastern journey of Augustus, his friend and adviser Agrippa had inspected in his behalf the provinces of

[1] Tac. *Ann.* iv. 3.
[2] Plut. *Anton.* 61.; Appian, *B. C.* v. 10.
[3] Dion, lii. 43., liv. 9.; Hoeck, *Röm. Gesch.* i. 370.

Asia.[1] The politic Herodes had succeeded in gaining the minister's favour, as previously his master's, and had received a full confirmation of the favours already bestowed upon him. To his kingdom of Judea were annexed the dominions of various petty chieftains; he was allowed to choose his own successor from among the children whom he had sent of his own accord to Rome, as pledges of his loyalty. Few of the vassal kings of Rome were thus encouraged to contemplate the prospect of perpetuating a dynasty. On the arrival, however, of Augustus himself, more extensive additions were made to his territories, in the districts of Trachonitis, Auranitis, and Batanæa, which were taken from their tetrarch Zenodorus, because he leagued himself with the Arab robbers instead of controlling them. Pheroras, a brother of Herodes, was raised to the sovereignty of a portion of Peræa, and Herod was himself guaranteed by special ordinance from the obnoxious interference of the governor of Syria. Such were the brilliant rewards he obtained for maintaining the police of the Arabian deserts, chastising the nomade sheikhs, and gradually inuring them to the stern control of civilized authority.[2] On similar conditions Obodas held, as we have seen, his sceptre in Petra, and Iamblichus in Emesa.

Additions made to his territory.

Before quitting the Eastern dominions of the Roman empire we must cast our eyes for a moment on the great empire—the only rival empire—which lay beyond their frontier. In their collisions with Parthia the Romans had been twice unfortunate, and scanty were the

The rival monarchy of Parthia.

[1] In the year 731. Dion, liii. 32.: *οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐς τὴν Συρίαν ἀφίκετο, ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον μετριάζων ἐκεῖσε μὲν τοὺς ὑποστρατήγους ἔπεμψεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐν Λέσβῳ διέτριψε.*

[2] Joseph. *Antiq.* xv. 7. 10. 13.; *Bell. Jud.* i. 20, 21.; Dion, liv. 9.; Strabo, xvi. 2. p. 756.

trophies they had to set against the overthrow of one proconsul, the flight of another, and the loss of their legionary eagles. Nevertheless the events which had taken place in the interval nearer home were too tremendous in their character, and their interest was too absorbing to allow them to brood over these distant disasters. Each political chieftain had in turn rejoiced secretly in the discomfiture of his personal foe: the death of Crassus had relieved both Pompeius and Cæsar from a vigilant rival, and the setting of the sun of Antonius had cast a double brightness on the rising star of Octavius. The splendour and pretended glories of the new administration might continue to throw these early misfortunes into the shade: patriots who dared hardly think of the ancient triumphs of the republic would still less indulge in the recollection of her failures. Although in the earlier years of Augustus the writings of the day reflect often the national fear and hatred of the Parthians, none ventured to suggest the duty or policy of chastising them. During the closing struggle between the triumvirs, both Media and Armenia had been suffered to fall under the tutelage of these formidable enemies; but the dissensions of the reigning family had saved the honour of the Romans by inducing the rival claimants of the throne to appeal to the arbitration of the emperor.[1] While Phraates was allowed, as we have seen, to sit unmolested on his throne, his son, whom Tiridates had delivered up to Augustus, was kept in honourable confinement at Rome, and Tiridates himself entertained with respect and favour in Syria. This state of things subsisted for several years, during which the rivals, thus kept apart, continued secretly to countermine each other. Meanwhile, Rome grew united and stronger: Parthia was weakened by its dissensions. In the year 731 the claimants for the throne condescended once more to appeal to the common

[1] Dion, li. 18.; Justin, xlii. 5. See vol. iii. ch. xxix.

enemy of their nation. On this great occasion the demeanour of Augustus was eminently patriotic and national. He referred their claims to the consideration of the senate, and himself suggested that the opportunity had now arrived for satisfying the honour of the country, and effacing the memorials of her discomfiture.[1] While no decision was yet made respecting the settlement of the throne, the standards and the captives of Carrhæ were proudly reclaimed, as the first condition of arbitration. The Parthian monarch temporized, and on the part of the Roman no great anxiety was shown to hasten their recovery. At last, in the year 734, Augustus, then engaged in the settlement of the affairs of Asia, repeated in louder tones his demand for satisfaction. The tardy restoration was quickened by the advance of Tiberius Nero, the emperor's stepson, into Armenia, at the head of a military force, which might easily be turned against the refractory Parthian.[2] The standards were restored, or rather, perhaps, the bronze eagles which surmounted them—the cherished object of the soldier's affection and sometimes of his worship—which he was bound by the military sacrament never to desert. After an interval of more than thirty years few of the captives survived, and not many of these would care to relinquish their new ties and occupations for the forgotten honours of their youth. Phraates himself, if we may trust the testimony of the imperial medals, performed homage at the feet of the emperor's representative, and received the crown from his hands. The long-lost trophies were brought by Tiberius to

A. U. 734. B. C. 20.

Restoration of the standards of Crassus.

[1] Dion, liii. 33.

[2] Suet. *Tib.* 9. The line of Horace, *Epist.* i. 12. 26., "Jus imperiumque Phraates Cæsaris accepit genibus minor," alludes to the coins struck at this period, on which we see the figure of a trousered Parthian presenting the emperor with a standard, or, in some cases, a bow. Eckhel, *Doctr. Numm.* vi. 95. Comp. Ovid. *Fast.* v. 593.: "Parthe, refers aquilas, victos quoque porrigis arcus." Propert. iii. 4. 17.: "Tela fugacis equi et braccati militis arcus."

his father, and by him transmitted to Rome, where they were greeted with fervent acclamations, and deposited in the temple of Mars the Avenger.[1] This splendid edifice, which Augustus had vowed before the battle of Philippi, in which he was about to take vengeance on his father's murderers, was thus rendered doubly worthy of its title, as a monument of national retribution. The poets celebrated this recovery as something greater than a victory or a triumph. Augustus, however, in the monumental record he has left us of his own exploits, speaks of it with dignity and moderation.[2]

Armenia. The history of Armenia, during the few years preceding, is equally obscure with that of Parthia. Antonius had withdrawn from it ingloriously in 721, and Artaxias, the son of the unfortunate Artavasdés, being placed on his father's throne, had avenged the injuries of his family by murdering all the Romans in his dominions. His next resource was to throw himself upon the protection of the Parthians. He seems, however, to have made some friendly overtures to Octavius after the death of Antonius, which the victorious triumvir thought fit to dignify with

[1] Bunsen, *Rom.* iii. 281., after Piale, maintains that the trophies were suspended, not in the temple of Mars Ultor in the forum of Augustus, but in a chapel erected to that deity in the Capitol, on the ground that the medals represent it as a small circular building, whereas the temple was ample in size and of the ordinary shape. Becker takes the same view. Hoeck supposes that the trophies were first placed in the smaller shrine, and removed at a later period to the temple, which was not actually dedicated upon completion till 752. But surely the representation of the temple on the medal is merely conventional. Dion, who places the temple itself on the Capitol, may be corrected by an easy transposition. The words of Augustus himself are: "Ea autem signa in penetrali quod est in templo Martis Ultoris reposui." Mon. Ancyr. col. 5.

[2] Mon. Ancyr. 5.: "Parthos trium exercituum Romanorum spolia et signa restituere mihi, supplicesque amicitiam pop. Rom. petere coegi." The three disasters may include, perhaps, besides the defeats of 701 and 719, the inglorious retreat of Antonius from the Araxes in 721. Dion, xlix. 44.

the name of submission.[1] On the murder of Artaxias soon after by his own subjects, Augustus commissioned Tiberius to place his brother Tigranes on the throne, nor did the Parthians, as we have seen, venture to make any opposition. Armenia, we may conclude, fell under the protection of the empire, an event which the imperial medals commemorate with their usual magniloquence.[2] Whatever, however, was the glory of the exploit, Tiberius, it was remarked, claimed it all as his own, and the prodigies which marked his progress over the field of Philippi stimulated his young ambition with visions of future empire.[3]

Augustus returns to Samos. A. U. 734.

After witnessing the completion of these important affairs Augustus returned, towards the end of 734, to his winter quarters at Samos, where he bestowed the boon of autonomy on the hosts by whom he had been so frequently entertained. He watched, as we have seen, from this distant retreat the agitation of public feeling at Rome, where each ensuing consular election had called forth an ungovernable spirit of turbulence; and the eyes of all sober citizens were turned more and more anxiously towards him as the man who could alone restore tranquillity and guarantee its continuance. Still, however, while affairs seemed not yet ripe for his august interference, the emperor persisted in holding his court at Samos, transacting business there through the winter, and receiving the homage of long trains of admirers from the remotest parts of India and Scythia. The envoys of Pandion and Porus, Indian kings, professed to have been four

[1] Eckhel, *Doct. Numm.* vi. 82.: "Cæsar Divi f. Armenia recepta." (A. U. 725.)

[2] Eckhel, vi. 98.: "Augustus Armenia capta." Comp. Dion, li. 16., liv. 9.; Vell. ii. 94.

[3] Dion, liv. 9.: *ἐπειδὴ πρὸς τοὺς Φιλίππους αὐτῷ προσελαύνοντι θόρυβός τέ τις ἐκ τοῦ τῆς μάχης χωρίου, ὡς καὶ ἐκ στρατοπέδου ἠκούσθη, καὶ πῦρ ἐκ τῶν βωμῶν, τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου ἐν τῷ ταφρεύματι ἱδρυθέντων, αὐτόματον ἀνέλαμψε· Τιβέριος μὲν δὴ ἐκ τούτων ἐγαυροῦτο.*

years on their travels westward, and apologized for the diminished retinue with which they approached his presence by the losses their number had sustained through fatigue, or in the course of nature.[1] They brought presents of precious stones, and spices, and animals hitherto unknown in Europe. The Romans, says Dion, had never before seen a tiger; nor, he believes, had the Greeks either.[2] They presented him also with a man born without arms, but who had learnt to blow the trumpet, to draw the bow, and dart the lance by means of his toes; *so at least*, says the historian, *I am told, though I see not myself how it be possible.* But the most remarkable part of this embassy was the self-immolation of an Indian sage, whose name perhaps was Zarmanochanus, who followed the court of Augustus to Athens, was there initiated into the mysteries of Ceres, and then, declaring that having lived so long in perfect content he would not expose himself to the chances of a reverse, burnt himself publicly, according to the approved custom of the wise men of his country.[3]

At Athens the proconsul slowly returning was met by accounts from Rome which determined him at

[1] Dion, liv. 9.; Strabo, xv. 1. p. 720.

[2] Comp. Plin. *Hist. Nat.* viii. 25.: "Q. Tuberone, Fabio Max. Coss. Theatri Marcelli dedicatione, tigrin primus omnium Romæ ostendit (Augustus) in cavea mansuefactum (A. U. 743)." This animal was probably the royal Bengal tiger, which may have been unknown to the Romans. They speak so frequently of the Armenian and Hyrcanian tigers, that I can hardly suppose they were unacquainted with the inferior species.

[3] Dion, Strabo, *l. c.* Comp. Lucan, iii. 241.:

"Proh quanta est gloria genti
Injecisse manum fatis, vitaque repletos
Quod superest donasse Deis."

Calanus had made a similar exhibition before Alexander; but he was old and infirm. See Arrian, *Exp. Alex.* vii. 3. The name of Zarmanochanus is spelt in various ways. I retain this orthography from its similarity to other Indian names as Grecized, such as Forticanus, Musicanus, Oxycanus, Assacanus. The philosopher came from Bargosa (Baroche) on the western coast of India.

last to yield to the importunate solicitations addressed to him from various quarters, and assume the direct nomination of the consuls to be elected by the people. Accordingly our review of the long progress he had made through almost every region of the empire here comes to its conclusion; but a few words are still wanted to complete our survey of his dominions. The first province formally constituted beyond the Adriatic was Macedonia; but the whole extent of Greece Proper, or Achaia as it was denominated by the Romans, together with the islands around its coast, had been reduced under their sway for more than a hundred years, though the nature of its government was not perhaps very accurately defined. It is probable that Achaia was not made a province before Julius Cæsar, nor even then is it easy to determine from the confused statement of the geographer Strabo exactly what its limits were.[1] It is still a question whether, according to the general opinion, Thessaly, Ætolia, Acarnania, and certain parts of Epirus were included in Achaia, or belonged more properly to Macedonia.' Both those provinces were surrendered by Augustus to the government of the senate; and such being the case, it seems not impossible that the limits between them were either not accurately defined or varied from time to time.[2] They both continued to enjoy uninterrupted tranquillity; and if the population of Achaia dwindled with the decay of commerce and the loss of independence, the constant resort thither from all parts of the world of the curious in antiquities and learning, the

The province of Achaia.

[1] Becker (Marquardt), *Ræm. Alterth.* iii. 1. 121., refers to a recent treatise by C. F. Hermann, in which he comes to the conclusion that this organization did not take place till the time of Augustus. He inclines however himself to an earlier date.

[2] Achaia was made senatorial in 727, again resumed, in conjunction with Macedonia, as imperial, in 739. At a later period it was again transferred to the senate by the emperor Claudius. Becker, p. 128.

admirers of its historic glory, and believers in the inspiration of its hallowed soil, continued to maintain at least a brilliant reflection of its ancient wealth and splendour. The legions which had recently controlled Macedonia were removed to the turbulent frontier of Thrace, Mœsia, and Pannonia.

Illyricum.

The district of Illyricum, which Cæsar had held together with both the Gauls, was confined in his time to a narrow strip of land on the eastern coast of the Adriatic, from the Istrian peninsula to the river Drilon, a rude and barren tract, as it has ever been, but important in a military sense, as the outwork of the great central citadel of Italy. The Romans in this region had been brought, in the usual course, into more and more frequent collision with the half-reclaimed natives themselves, and with their wholly barbarous neighbours, the Dalmatians, Iapodes, and Pannonians. Augustus himself, with his lieutenants Pollio and Agrippa, had made Illyricum a field for the martial training of his fresh conscripts. In the course of a few years the province assumed grander dimensions, the Dalmatians were incorporated in it, the Iapodes were subjugated on the fall of their fortress Metulum, and the Roman arms were advanced as far as Siscia, a fastness of the Pannonians on the waters of the Save. For a moment Augustus seems to have fancied his work there accomplished, and to have offered the pacified province to the administration of the senate; but on the occurrence of disturbances within, and threats of aggression from without, he renounced this intention as premature, and appointed two legions, under a commander of his own choice, to watch over its security. But events of considerable gravity and importance, which presently occurred in these regions, will again draw our attention to the Save, and even to the Danube, to Rhætia and Vindelicia, to Noricum and Pannonia.

So far and wide, says an historian under the empire, *did the Romans carry their arms around the circuit of the terrestrial globe, that the student of their affairs may trace therein the fortunes, not of a single nation, but of all mankind.*[1] And so this faint outline of their political relations, reduced within the limits of a single chapter, has brought us in contact with the mines of Asturia and the looms of India, the painted Britons, and the sunburnt Ethiopians, the languid decrepitude of Greece, and the precocious aspirations of Gaul and Spain. All these various and discordant nationalities were bound together by the moral sentiment of a common dependence on a stronger, an abler, and a wiser people than themselves, who swayed them, from the sacred soil of Italy, the centre of their common universe, the heart of their whole animated system. This moral connexion was represented outwardly to the eye by the long lines of military road, branching from the centre of Italy herself, from the golden milestone in the forum at Rome.[2] Within the bounds of Italy indeed, the desolation of the Social War, the massacres of Marius and Sulla, the plantation of colonies, many times repeated, had tended to obliterate every national distinction, and to assimilate the population of the whole peninsula to a single type. The same process which was in rapid progress throughout the provinces, was already almost consummated in the sovereign territory. The ground was cleared for the completion of the work of fusion, and in Augustus the man was found who had the skill and energy to effect it. From an early period the name

Italy.

[1] Florus, procem. lib. i.: "Ita late ubique per orbem terrarum arma circumtulit, ut qui res ejus legunt, non unius populi, sed generis humani fata discant."

[2] Hoeck, *Röm. Gesch.* i. 386. The "milliare aureum," it may be observed, was not properly a milestone, though popularly so denominated. The roads might be said to commence at the forum, but the measured miles began not at the centre, but at the gates of the city.

of Italy had been popularly attached to the whole region south of the Alps, though politically it had been divided into Gallia Cisalpina in the north, and Italia Proper in the south.[1] Possibly the popular use of this common name was a tradition from times anterior to the first Gallic invasion. But Italy within the Rubicon had become entirely Roman, and recently the Gauls also on either side the Po had received the franchise of the City. There remained, therefore, no substantial distinction between any portions of the whole country, and Augustus acted in harmony with the instinct of the times when he formally pronounced the Var the boundary of Italy and Gaul.[2] This favoured tract was exempted from the sway of a proconsul, whose imperium in the provinces was a symbol of conquest and domination. The commander of an army so near to Rome might have imperilled the security of the emperor. It was governed by the civil officers of its own colonies and municipalities; and was divided for administrative purposes into eleven regions or circles.[3] With the respective limits of these we are not accurately acquainted, but we may presume they regarded in little more than name the old and almost forgotten landmarks of communities and races.[4]

[1] Polybius, ii. 14., speaks of Italy as the whole region within the Alps; but, as a Greek, his use of such terms may be geographical rather than political.

[2] Strabo, v. 1.; Plin. *Hist. Nat.* iii. 6.; Lucan, i. 404. Nicæa, lying east of the Var, is assigned by Pliny and Ptolemy to Italy. Mela, however, and Stephanus give it to Gaul, as a Massilian colony. Ukert, ii. 2. 431.

[3] The eleven regions of Italy were Transpadana, Venetia, Liguria, Cispadana, Etruria, Umbria, Picenum, Samnium, Campania, Lucania, and Apulia. Becker, p. 61., ventures to assign the exact limits of each.

[4] Ancient writers have illustrated the shape of Italy by various fanciful similitudes. Polybius likened it to a mathematical triangle, Pliny to an elongated oak-leaf. Lucan more judiciously fixes his eye on the dorsal ridge of the mountains that permeate it; and this, if we were to indulge in such fancies as the foregoing, we might compare to the sinuosities of a monstrous serpent, whose head is in Istria,

In our review of the provinces of the empire the two considerable islands of Sardinia and Corsica have well nigh escaped our notice. Isolated in their position, they were, in fact, not less exceptional in their character. Near as they were to the coast of the continent,—the latter being within sight of Populonium and even of Liguria,—to the great Etruscan cities of antiquity, and even to Rome herself, these islands enjoyed none of the fruits of Italian civilization, and remained, in the time of Augustus, as they have continued ever since, dark spots of barbarism on the skirts of opulence and refinement. The northern island, indeed, was rugged and wild, and covered with impenetrable forests, and even under the empire was made a hunting field for slaves of the lowest and rudest character. Sardinia, more inviting in appearance, and adapted for the production of grain, which it sent in large quantities to Italy, was afflicted by a pestilential miasma which its possessors had never science or energy to overcome. Both were placed under the rule of the senate, as secure, and, at least from their weakness, peaceable. They were used as places of banishment for political exiles: the philosopher Seneca passed eight years of solitude and reflection in the mountains of Corsica[1]; and when four thousand freedmen of Rome, *infected with the superstition of the Jews*, were transported to Sardinia, it was observed that if they all perished of the fever of the country the loss would be of little importance.[2]

Sardinia and Corsica.

whose arched and crested neck is represented by the Alps, his body by the Apennines, and his tail by the waving curve of Lucania and Bruttium.

[1] Senec. *Cons. ad Helv.* 6.

[2] Tac. *Ann.* ii. 85.: "Si ob gravitatem cœli interissent vile damnum."

CHAPTER XXXV.

The Cæsarean family.—Julia, daughter of Augustus, by Scribonia, married to Marcellus, son of Octavia.—High promise and early death of Marcellus.—Julia united to Agrippa.—Augustus receives the tribunitian and the consular powers.—Agrippa is raised to a participation in the former.—Prefecture of manners.—Revision of the Senate.—Secular games.—Prefecture of the city.—Conduct and character of Mæcenas.—Augustus in Gaul, and Agrippa in the East.—Conquest of Rhætia and Vindelicia by Tiberius and Drusus, stepsons of Augustus.—Tiberius consul in 741.—Augustus and Agrippa return to Rome.—Augustus chief pontiff.—Campaign of Agrippa against the Pannonians.—His illness and death.—Character of Agrippa. (A.U. 729—742. B.C. 25—12.)

The Cæsarean family. Influence of Livia.

THE importance which began, even from their tenderest years, to attach to the members of the imperial family, attested from an early period the direction of the revolution which was in progress. It was at the commencement of the year 716 that Augustus married Livia, the last of the four consorts with whom, in his brief career, he had already connected himself. Livia was at this time extremely young, but she had borne one son to her first husband Tiberius, four years before, and was already six months with child when led to his home by her second. She was again delivered of a male child in due season, which was acknowledged equally with its elder brother by Tiberius, though the ardour of her lover's passion, and the fact that her husband had been compelled to resign her to him, gave rise to a suspicion that the child was really the offspring of Augustus himself.[1] However this might

[1] Suet. *Claud.* 1.: "Drusum . . . . Livia, quum Augusto gravida nupsisset, intra mensem tertium peperit; fuitque suspicio, ex vitrico per adulterii consuetudinem procreatum. Statim certe vulgatus est

be, the reputed father, who had acquiesced with courtier-like facility in the loss of his wife, continued on the best terms with his successor, and at his death, four years afterwards, recommended both the children to his guardianship. Livia herself, the sport of these caprices, was even at the date of her second marriage little more than a child. It is hardly credible that she was only twelve years of age at the birth of her eldest son Tiberius, but at latest she was not more than twenty when she became the consort of Octavius.[1] But while her personal charms were thus in their first bloom, her understanding was, perhaps, already mature. She was a daughter of the Claudian house, the pride and abilities of which were the common inheritance of both males and females.[2] She had been united for four years to a man of eminence, under guidance of whose experience she had shared the vicissitudes of civil war, and had fled with him before her future husband on the failure of the enterprise of Perusia. The facility with which she had been transferred from the guardianship of one political chief to that of another might give her an impressive lesson on the instability of female influence. In her second home she directed all her arts to securing her position, and became, perhaps, in no long course of time, as consummate a dissembler and intriguer as Octavius himself. While, indeed, she seconded him in his efforts to cajole the Roman people, she was engaged, not less successfully, in cajoling him. Her elegant manners, in which she was reputed to exceed the narrow limits allowed by fashion and opinion to the Roman matrons,

versus: Τοῖς εὐτυχοῦσι καὶ τρίμηνα παιδία." Comp. Suet. *Oct.* 62., *Tib.* 4.; Dion, xlviii. 44.

[1] Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* xiv. 8.) places her birth A.U. 700; Dion (lviii. 2.) in 696.

[2] Livia was daughter of M. Livius Drusus Claudianus, a Claudius adopted into the Livian gens. Her children were accordingly Claudii by actual descent on both sides.

proved no less fascinating to him than her beauty.[1] Her intellect was undoubtedly of a high order, and, when her personal charms failed to enchain his roving inclinations, she was content with the influence she still continued to exercise over his understanding.[2] While she connived at his amusements she became the confidante of his policy, and the sway she acquired over him in the first transports of courtship she retained without change or interruption to the day of his death. But Livia was denied the good fortune of bearing her husband's child; and there were objects still nearer to his natural affections than her offspring by another man, though bred up under his own eye and guardianship.[3]

Julia, daughter of Augustus, by Scribonia, married to Marcellus, son of Octavia.

Scribonia, during the short time she had been permitted to share the home of the triumvir, had proved her fertility by the birth of one daughter, and might, perhaps, have surrounded the emperor's throne with a numerous progeny of sons. From this blessing, however, in which his ambition was so deeply interested, he excluded himself by his wanton repudiation of her. When the prospect of having heirs by Livia began to fail, the daughter of Scribonia, to whom he had given the name of Julia, acquired the ascendant in his affections.[4] But a woman could have no political position in Rome: the father must be content

[1] Tac. *Ann.* v. 1.: "Sanctitate domus priscum ad morem, comis ultra quam antiquis fœminis probatum."

[2] Suet. *Oct.* 71. Tacitus calls her "uxor facilis."

[3] In the hope of having sons of his own, and when this hope failed, for the sake of his grandsons by Julia, Augustus refrained from formally adopting the young Neros. Tiberius, as we shall see, acquired adoption at a much later period. Suet. *Oct.* 65., *Tib.* 15.

[4] Julia, the daughter of Augustus by Scribonia, was born in the year 715, and her mother received her bill of divorcement the same day. Dion, xlviii. 34.: *τῷ δ' ἔτει, ἐν ᾧ Λούκιός τε Μάρκιος καὶ Γαίος Σαβῖνος ὑπάτευσαν, . . . ὁ Καῖσαρ . . . ἤδη καὶ τῆς Λιουΐας ἐρᾷν ἤρχετο, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὴν Σκριβωνίαν τεκοῦσάν οἱ θυγάτριον ἀπεπέμψατο αὐθήμερον*

to transfer to the son-in-law of his choice the interest he felt in his own offspring. It was the natural policy of Augustus, in order to avoid domestic jealousies, to seek a husband for his child within the sphere of his own family, and in Marcellus, the son of his sister Octavia, he found one both suitable in years and promising in disposition. He had shown strong marks of affection for his sister, whose force of character, together with a superiority of two years in age, had exercised great influence over him. For her sake he had spared the lives of the spurious children of Cleopatra, and had continued to treat with the consideration due to their rank those she had herself borne to his rival. But she had had a son and daughter also by an earlier marriage, and these had on every account a prior claim to his regard. On his return from Egypt he united Marcella, just then of marriageable age, to his friend Agrippa; but for the young Marcellus he destined at an early date the hand of his beloved Julia. In the year 729 the one had completed only seventeen, the other not more than fourteen years of age. But the weakness of his own health, lately shaken by a dangerous sickness, urged him to hasten an union to which he looked for the perpetuation of his family, and the fortunes so wonderfully linked with it; and being himself still detained beyond the sea, he deputed Agrippa to conduct the ceremonial. Augustus had already raised the partner in his victories to an elevation at which it was scarcely prudent to set any limit to his ambitious aspirations. The successive consulships to which he had been advanced in 725 and 726, were regarded by the Romans as an indication that he had outstepped the sphere of a private citizen. In his Spanish campaigns Augustus had divided with him the command of the army, and shared the prætorian tent. In 729, when his dwelling was consumed by an accidental fire, he was invited to take up his residence in the

A. U. 729. B. C. 25.

emperor's mansion on the Palatine, which was already beginning to assume the name and character of the Palace.[1] And now, when the daughter of the emperor was about to be given in marriage, he was summoned to take the place, not indeed of the bridegroom, which, with its pledge of favour and prospect of inheritance, he might perhaps have justly demanded, but of the father of the bride. While he had served his patron by land and sea, in peace and in war, with signal fidelity for so many years, he had made it, perhaps, apparent that at least he would serve no other, and that he regarded himself as debarred from the first place in the state only by the existence of one precarious life. The rumour that Agrippa had counselled the restoration of the republic, and was himself at heart a true republican, may have arisen from hints dropped by himself to remind Augustus that his claims could not safely be disregarded.[2]

But neither these rumours, nor the splendour of his shows, and utility of the manifold works he designed and executed, availed to obtain for Agrippa any peculiar popularity with the citizens. Born of obscure, and perhaps vulgar, extraction, he could never perhaps shake off the manner of the plebeian client, and invest himself with the easy address of the noble Roman which won all hearts in an Antonius or an Octavius. His countenance, as it is exhibited on the medals, was stern and rigid, expressive of grave thought and inflexible will, but destitute of all the graces of feature and expression which secured the popular triumphs of a Cæsar or a Pompeius. It is probable that he was naturally reserved and haughty, and that the great but qualified successes of his

Marcellus enjoys more popularity than Agrippa.

[1] Dion, liii. 1. 27.

[2] Velleius (ii. 79.) describes him as "parendi, sed uni, scientissimus."

career rendered him still more so. On the other hand, the regard entertained by the Romans for the noble Octavia descended in full measure upon her son, while he was yet too young to exhibit any character at all. Already, in the year 719, the triumvir had elevated his sister to an equal share in every honour and privilege assigned to his consort Livia. As time passed on, he demanded of the senate that her son Marcellus should have leave to anticipate by ten years the age for soliciting the consulship. He caused him to be chosen ædile for 731, when yet in his twentieth year. At the same time he placed the young Tiberius, twelve months his junior, in the quæstorship, to allay, perhaps, the jealousy of Livia.[1] But it was not so easy to satisfy Agrippa, who seems to have resented every such act of favour as an indication of the emperor's intention to raise his youthful relative to a speedy participation in his own pre-eminence.

Sickness of Augustus. A. U. 731. B. C. 23.

In the year 731 Augustus had returned to Rome, and was exercising his eleventh consulship.[2] Struck down by a second illness, more alarming than the first, we have seen how adroitly he contrived, in the very crisis of his dis-

[1] Dion's statement (liii. 28.) is that Marcellus had leave to become consul ten years before the proper age, and Tiberius to anticipate by five years the career of honours. Now in strictness the quæstorian age was thirty, that of the ædile thirty-two. Marcellus therefore became ædile, and might have become consul, twelve years, and Tiberius commenced his career not five but eleven years, before the time. If we are to credit the historian, we must suppose, as is not indeed improbable, that the decrees in question were merely conventional, implying generally a release from the Lex Annalis, which long before this time had ceased to be much regarded.

[2] This was the last of the series of continuous consulships which Augustus had held, with a single interruption (A.U. 722) since 721. He assumed it, we may presume, this year in order to introduce the young scions of his house into public life with more solemnity. His assumption in this year also of the tribunitian power may have induced him to waive for the future the now inferior dignity of the consulship, which he accepted only once subsequently.

order, to flatter the hopes of the friend whom he esteemed, without blighting the fond anticipations of the nephew, for whom, perhaps, he felt the deeper affection.[1] When, shortly afterwards, the politic dissembler rose from his couch, he had refrained from committing himself beyond return with either of the two expectants; nevertheless Marcellus could not dissemble his disappointment and jealousy, nor perhaps did Agrippa abstain from resenting his youthful petulance with undisguised ill-humour. Augustus was anxious to separate them. With this view he offered Agrippa a splendid mission in the East, for the regulation of the affairs of one-half of the empire. Agrippa accepted the charge; but he went in person no farther than Lesbos, committing to the care of his legates the execution of the orders he issued from thence. This conduct may have been interpreted by some as a token of his moderation; but to others it may have seemed an indication of offended pride, and of a suspicion that his mission was the result of the emperor's distrust rather than of his confidence.[2] Agrippa belongs to the number of men of high mark and estimation, who have been judged worthy of reigning because, perhaps, they have never actually reigned. Little as his personal

Conduct of Agrippa.

[1] Dion, liii. 30.; Suet. *Oct.* 28. See vol. iii. chapter xxx.

[2] Dion says: *οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐς τὴν Συρίαν ἀφίκετο, ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον μετριάζων ἐκεῖσε μὲν τοὺς ὑποστρατήγους ἔπεμψε.* Suetonius also mentions it as an instance of Agrippa's forbearance: "Quum . . . quod Marcellus sibi anteferretur, Mytilenas se, relictis omnibus, contulisset." Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* vii. 45., mentions, among the misfortunes of Augustus, "pudendam Agrippæ ablegationem." Velleius, ii. 93., says of him: "Qui sub specie ministeriorum principalium profectus in Asiam, ut fama loquitur, ob tacitas cum Marcello offensiones præsenti se subduxerat tempori." Josephus, *Ant.* xv. 10. 2., expresses the opinion common in the East, that Agrippa was associated in the empire with Augustus: *ὥστε δύο τούτων τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν διεπόντων, Καίσαρος καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ Ἀγρίππα.* Perhaps it was supposed that a division was made between them, as between the triumvirs. Frandsen's *Agrippa*, p. 45.

character appears in the history we have received of his exploits, his behaviour on this occasion is important from the element of weakness it seems to disclose, and the tokens it apparently gives of moroseness and selfishness, which, had he ever succeeded to power, might have rendered him a coward and a tyrant. We shall presently witness a conspicuous example of a similar disposition, in which a fair renown for political ability was overcast by the misfortune of inheriting an empire.

Recovery of Augustus. He accepts the tribunitian power. A. U. 731. B. C. 23.

The emperor's recovery from his recent illness seems to have been slow and dubious. During the weary hours of convalescence the pressure of public affairs made itself doubly felt, and there may perhaps be some foundation for the notion to which Suetonius refers, that at this period he meditated, for the second time, the surrender of his power.[1] But with returning strength and spirits any such ideas quickly passed away. The year 731 is memorable in the life of the first princeps from his acceptance of the power of the tribunate, the most important, perhaps, in a constitutional point of view, of all his prerogatives; certainly that which above all others stamped the empire of the Romans as a government of the people by the child of the people itself. Augustus might now regard himself as no longer a military ruler, but a popular leader, and such is the character to which the best of his successors constantly aspired. But the interests of the people could not thus rise without proportionally depressing those of the privileged classes of the state; and from henceforth we must consider the reign of the Roman nobility as actually extinguished.

But, whatever were the feelings with which Augustus regarded this accession to his dignity, and the com-

[1] Suet. *Oct.* 28.: referred to in chapter xxx. vol. iii.

Death and funeral obsequies of Marcellus. A. U. 731. B. C. 23.

pletion of his work of popular revolution, the anticipations he might form of founding a dynasty of tribunes were suddenly checked by a terrible domestic calamity. The young ædile was in the midst of his career of office, in which, assisted by the liberality of his father-in-law, he had gratified the citizens with the grandeur of his shows, when towards the end of the summer the fatal malaria of the city marked him for its prey.[1] The same physician, Antonius Musa, who had cured the valetudinarian Augustus of a fever by the bold expedient of a cold-water treatment, failed in repeating the experiment on the younger and stronger patient.[2] The emperor seems to have been much affected by this untoward event.[3] It was not only the loss to him of a favourite child, it was the frustration of a cherished plan, and a stern memento that fortune, which had exalted him so high as her vassal, still retained over him her paramount sovereignty. He caused the body to be honoured with public obsequies, and the ashes laid in the mausoleum of his family.[4] He had

[1] I suppose that as ædile Marcellus would have passed the summer in the city superintending the public festivals; but he died, we are told, at Baiæ. Propert. ii. 16.:

"At nunc invisæ magno cum crimine Baiæ;
Quis Deus in vestra constitit hostis aqua?"

[2] Dion, liii. 30. Augustus was treated, according to Dion, ψυχρολουσίαις καὶ ψυχροποσίαις. Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* xix. 8.) adds, "lactucis." Suet. *Oct.* 81.: "Quia calida fomenta non proderant, frigidis curari coactus, auctore Antonio Musa." The cold treatment of certain cases of fever is now very commonly used with success, where the patient has strength to bear the violence of the stimulant. In ague-fever it is said that it would be highly expedient. But we do not know the precise nature of either of these two cases. Suetonius says of the illness Augustus suffered in Tarraco, "destillationibus jecinore vitiato."

[3] It was natural that high expectations should be formed of a youth who had such advantages for courting popular favour. Vell. ii. 93: "Sane, ut aiunt, ingenuarum, virtutum, lætusque animi et ingenii, fortunæque in quam alebatur capax." Seneca (*Cons. ad Marc.* 2.) expatiates more amply on the same theme.

erected this monument to his own mortality in his sixth consulship, the very year of his return to Rome and assumption of undisputed power. Hard by the banks of the Tiber, in the grassy meadow where the Roman youths met in athletic and martial exercises, there rose a lofty marble tower with three retiring stages, each of which had its terrace covered with earth and planted with cypresses. These stages were pierced with numerous chambers, destined to receive row within row, and story upon story, the remains of every member of the imperial family, with many thousands of their slaves and freedmen. In the centre of that massive mound the great founder of the empire was to sleep his last sleep, while his statue was ordained to rise conspicuous on its summit, and satiate its everlasting gaze with the view of his beloved city.[1] Marcellus was the first for whom those lofty portals opened. The people followed his remains with unavailing lamentations, heaping reproaches on the unkindness of the gods, and whispering horrid suspicions of the unfair practices of Livia. The season indeed had been unusually fatal; but in these cases the breath of rumour can never be wiped away, and every historian has thought it necessary to record that the guilt of Marcellus's death was imputed at least to the mother of Tiberius.[2] The emperor had the fortitude to pro-

[1] There are two passages about the mausoleum of Augustus: Suet. *Oct.* 100., and Strabo, v. p. 256. I think they are sufficient to bear out this description, which I have taken from Dezobry's *Rome au Siècle d'Auguste*, i. 426., and his charming restoration of the Campus Martius. Strabo says expressly that there was a statue of Augustus on the summit, and he can hardly have been mistaken. Nevertheless Dezobry contends, from the analogy of similar monuments, that it was probably surmounted by an urn.

[2] Dion. liii. 33. For the honours paid to Marcellus see Servius on *Æn.* vi. 862.; and comp. Propert. ii. 16.; the *Consol. ad Liviam*, i. 65.; and the celebrated passage in Virgil himself, *Æn.* vi. 872.:

"Quantos ille virum magnam Mavortis ad urbem
Campus aget gemitus, vel quæ Tiberine videbis
Funera cum tumulum præterlabere recentem."

nounce in person the panegyric of his favourite, and dedicated in his name a magnificent theatre in the Campus Martius.[1] But amidst the vain and perishable memorials of the deceased which Augustus might fondly love to accumulate, he was fortunate in obtaining from the gratitude of Virgil a monument nobler and more durable than stone. The verses on the death of Marcellus, which the author of the Æneid inserted in his poem, bear evident marks of a hasty interpolation, and so far corroborate the common belief that they were in fact a later addition. The graceful story of Octavia's fainting at the recital of her darling's praises, and the hopes so cruelly frustrated, crowns with its last ray of interest the head of the noblest of Roman matrons.[2]

Agrippa is required to espouse the widow Julia.

Whatever aspirations Livia may have cherished on the death of her husband's son-in-law, it was not to her children in the first instance that the advantage fell. Such of the citizens as had ventured to augur, from the favour with which Augustus had treated him, that it was wished to smooth the way for his succession, had still regarded the pride and ambition of Agrippa

A rude fragment of the lower story of this mausoleum still remains after many transformations. The explorer passes from a dark alley under a dark doorway, and ascending a dark stair finds himself in a small open amphitheatre. The sepulchre of the illustrious ædile is now dishonoured by the vulgar sports of the bull-ring: "inani munere."

[1] Some of the outer columns of the Theatre of Marcellus still remain, and owe their preservation to their having been built in with modern houses. In one of these Niebuhr was lodged during part of his residence in Rome. Servius, on Virgil's phrase (*Æn.* i. 716.) "*pesti* devota futuræ," observes, "De oratione Augusti translata locutio quam habuit in tralatione funeris Marcelli, cum diceret illum immaturæ *morti* devotum fuisse." The first book of the Æneid must have been written earlier, yet such later insertions were not perhaps uncommon. Horace also has the phrase: "Devota morti pectora liberæ."

[2] Donat. in *Vit. Virgil.* 47.: "Dena sestertia (about 90*l.*) pro singulo versu." Comp. Servius on *Æn. l. c.*

as a formidable obstacle to his claims.[1] At this period the imperial autocracy was assuming a more fixed and definite character. Though he declined at the close of this year to resume the consulship which he had held for several years in succession, and though on the occurrence of scarcity and inundations he had firmly refused the dictatorship decreed him by the senate and pressed upon him not without violence by the people, Augustus was not the less intent on shaping the foundations he had himself marked out for his power, and was not unwilling that his countrymen should be led to regard him and his system as the sole pledges of regular government. Without a partner in his power or an heir to his pre-eminence, he seemed to stand isolated and defenceless as a mark to the dagger of the assassin. In fact, the death of Marcellus was speedily followed by renewed attempts on the life of the emperor.[2] While he withdrew therefore from Rome, that the citizens might feel by renewed experience the need of his presence, he determined to frustrate the designs of his enemies by confirming and perpetuating his authority. On reaching Sicily he desired Agrippa to leave his retreat in Lesbos and meet him. Mæcenas had whispered in his ear that the minister's power was already too great for a subject: he must either raise him to his own rank by marriage with the widow Julia, or contrive to rid himself of him.[3] Augustus had resolved upon the former alternative. He could not balance as a measure of prudence, between Livia's striplings and the trusty veteran of Pachynus and Actium. Agrippa

A. U. 732.
B. C. 22.

[1] Vell. ii. 93.: "Marcellus . . . quem homines ita, si quid accidisset Cæsari, successorem potentiæ ejus arbitrabantur futurum, ut tamen id per M. Agrippam securo ei posse contingere non existimarent."

[2] The conspiracy of L. Murena and Fannius Cæpio. Dion, liii. 3.; Vell. ii. 91.; Suet. *Oct.* 19., in the first half of the year 732.

[3] Dion, liv. 6., makes Mæcenas say, without circumlocution, *τηλικοῦτον αὐτὸν πεποίηκας, ὥστε ἢ γαμβρόν σου γενέσθαι ἢ φονευθῆναι.*

was married indeed to Octavia's daughter Marcella; but the expedient of a divorce was obvious and easy, and the mother herself, it was said, was prepared and even anxious to sacrifice her own child to the higher interests of her brother's family.[1] She had abandoned herself to passionate sorrow on the loss of her son, and had ever since made a parade of her affliction, and refused to admit of any alleviation. Crushed in her own dearest hopes and aspirations, she was alive only to the frustration of those of a rival, and woke once more from her dream of unavailing woe to devise a scheme for the mortification of Livia.[2] The result of the interview was that Agrippa was sent to Rome, to carry on the government in the name of Augustus, and to solemnize his nuptials with the emperor's daughter.[3] He was thus fixed in the eyes of his countrymen in the second place in the commonwealth, and was manifestly designated for admission hereafter, either in his own person or that of his children, to the first.[4] The ambition of Livia was a second time disappointed.

A. U. 733. B. C. 21.

From this time we must expect to find a veil cast over the domestic transactions of the imperial family. It has become dangerous to divulge to public curiosity the privacy of the palace. The divorced Marcella had borne her husband more than one child; but of the fruit of

Uneasy relations between Augustus and Agrippa.

[1] Plutarch, *Anton.* 88.; Suetonius, *Oct.* 63.

[2] See the description of Octavia's mourning contrasted with that of the magnanimous Livia on a later occasion, by Seneca, *Cons. ad Marc.* 2. The rhetorical turn of the philosopher's pathos is imitated pretty closely by his nephew Lucan in celebrating the sorrows of Cornelia, *Phars.* ix. 109. fol.

[3] The return of Agrippa to Rome and marriage with Julia took place in the first half of 733. Fischer, *Roem. Zeittafeln.*

[4] The precedent was cited on a subsequent occasion. Tac. *Hist.* i. 15.: "D. Augustus sororis filium Marcellum, dein generum Agrippam, . . . in proximo sibi fastigio collocavit. Sed Augustus in domo successorem quæsivit."

this ill-starred marriage we have no further account. She was wedded herself a second time to Julus Antonius, the second son of the triumvir, an union, however, which met with a still more disastrous end than the preceding. For two years Agrippa ruled alone in Rome, while Augustus was abroad in the provinces, an alteration of his sphere of administration which gave additional significance to his reputed association in the empire.[1] About their feelings and outward demeanour towards each other at this period, history is entirely silent. Jealousy there must have been on the one side, pride on the other. Agrippa must have been conscious that he owed his elevation not to predilection, for another had been preferred to him, but to necessity or fear; and of this consciousness Augustus himself cannot but have been painfully sensible. It seems impossible that the familiarity of their early friendship can have continued under these circumstances; but whatever were their real feelings, they were mutually careful to give no handle to rumour, and during the ten years their union lasted, with increasing marks of external confidence, there was no whisper of private dissension between them. No sign did Agrippa betray of regret at parting from Marcella; if Julia was personally distasteful to him, or if the licentiousness for which she was afterwards notorious became apparent during the period of her union with him, he communicated to no one his aversion or resentment. In the ten years which followed, she bore him two sons and as many daughters, and was pregnant of a third son at the time of his death.

[1] Among other significant incidents which seem to imply a virtual equality between the two rulers, may be mentioned the statues of Augustus and himself which Agrippa placed on either side of the entrance to the Pantheon, and the two halls in his palace to which Herod, the king of Judea, gave their names respectively. Joseph. *Antiq.* xv. 9. 3.; *Bell. Jud.* i. 21. 1. Agrippa also erected his own statue together with one of Augustus on the Propylæa at Athens.

State of affairs at Rome during the absence of Augustus.

Agrippa did not long remain in the exercise of his new authority in Rome. While Augustus was still absent in Asia, the report of renewed disturbances in Gaul, and afterwards in Spain, called him to the opposite quarter of the empire, where he speedily repressed an outbreak of the Cantabrians. It is possible that he may have reached the capital once more before the return of Augustus, towards the end of the year 735.[1] During his absence, however, and, we may suppose, from the want of his firm controlling hand, the turbulence of some ambitious intriguers had brought the government into peril. Egnatius Rufus, the ædile of the year before, had ventured to solicit the consulship, vacant by the emperor's refusal, not at the recommendation of Augustus, but through his popularity with the citizens. Riots and bloodshed ensued, though we are left altogether in ignorance from what quarter they sprang. The actual consul, Sentius Saturninus, acted, we are told, with vigour. He chastised the disturbers of the public peace, and arrested Egnatius and others on a charge of conspiracy against the emperor's life, a charge sufficiently improbable in the absence of the emperor at many hundred miles' distance.[2]

A. U. 735. B. C. 19.

The treason of Egnatius, indeed, never ripened into act. As with previous conspirators, his nefarious design was discovered, as we are informed, and stifled in the bud. But the time had already arrived when it might be convenient to extinguish a vexatious

[1] Fischer (*Roem. Zeit.*) supposes that he had returned before the summer, 735, from a passage in Frontinus *de Aquæd.* 10.: "Agrippa cum jam consul tertium fuisset, C. Sentio, Q. Lucretio Coss. post annum xiii. quam Juliam deduxerat (scil. ann. 721), Virginem quoque in agro Lucullano collectam Romam perduxit: dies quo primum in urbe responderit V. Id. Jun. invenitur." But there is no reason to suppose from this that he was in Rome at the time.

[2] Vell. ii. 91.: "Egnatius, aggregatis simillimis sibi, interimere Cæsarem statuit." Comp. Suet. *Oct.* 19.; Dion, liv. 10.

ambition by the false imputation of a crime. Saturninus refused the invidious privilege which the senate would have thrust upon him, of maintaining an armed guard for his personal security against the disturbers of the public peace, and distinguished senators were sent to entreat Augustus to resume the consulship which he had already waived. He contented himself, however, with nominating one of the envoys, Q. Lucretius, and shortly afterwards quitted Samos, and re-entered Rome, after three years' absence, on the fourth of the Ides of October.[1] The subordination of Agrippa's position to that of his illustrious patron, in general estimation, as well as in outward distinction, is clearly marked in the application of the senate to Augustus alone, notwithstanding the presumed association of the other with him. If the exploits of Agrippa, his love for his country, and even his services in her behalf, might in some respects be compared with those of his imperator, the distinction of the Julian name was confined to Augustus alone; he alone could claim descent from tutelary gods and heroes; Agrippa, by his recent marriage, might become the father of a divine race, but Augustus was himself divine.[2]

Return of Augustus. A. U. 735. B. C. 19.

[1] Kalendar. Amiternin. in *Fast. Verrian.* p. 114. ed. Foggin. (Orelli, *Inscr.* ii. 400.) IV. Eid. Oct. August. Lud. in circ. Fer. ex S. C. q. e. d. Imp. Cæs. Aug. ex transmarinis provinciis urbem intravit, araque Fort. Reduci constituit. Fischer, *Roem. Zeit.*

[2] Agrippa seems to have called himself by his *prænomen* and *cognomen*, and allowed the *nomen* of his obscure Vipsanian gens to drop. The lowness of his origin is constantly put forward by the ancients, as Vell. ii. 127., "novitas familiæ haud obstitit," &c.; and so late a writer as Servius, in *Æn.* viii. 682.: "Agrippa non adeo claro genere ortus." M. Seneca, *Controv.* ii. 12.: "Tanta autem sub divo Augusto libertas fuit ut præpotenti tunc M. Agrippæ non defuerint qui ignobilitatem exprobarent. Vipsanius Agrippa fuerat: Vipsanii nomen, quasi argumentum paternæ humilitatis, sustulerat, et M. Agrippa dicebatur. Quum defenderet reum, fuit accusator, qui diceret: M. Agrippam *et quod medium est.* Volebat *Vipsanium* intelligi." See Frandsen's *Agrippa*, p. 254.

Enthusiasm of the citizens on the return of Augustus. A. U. 735. B. C. 19.

The joy which the Romans had vociferously expressed on the return of Cæsar from Thapsus and Munda, of Octavius himself from Actium and his Asturian battle-fields, was again manifested with no less apparent enthusiasm when he regained the city after the bloodless triumphs of his eastern administration. The last two years had been marked by the paralysis of legitimate order in Rome, and had brought back a painful reminiscence of the days of demagogic turbulence, when consuls vied with tribunes in the violation of the laws. A whole generation had passed since the comitia had been dissolved, and the tribes dismissed to their homes without the completion of the business of their meeting, the election of the chief magistrates of the states. Such, it might naturally be remarked, had been the happy effect of lending autocratic authority to the most deserving of the citizens, that the course of law and order had never since been seriously interrupted, even in the midst of wars and revolutions. But no sooner did the emperor quit the helm, than the perils of winds and waves broke out with redoubled fury. The days of Clodius and Milo returned, intrigues were enforced with the hand of violence, fraud was cemented with blood. Checked, perhaps, for a time by the presence of Agrippa, these disturbances had recommenced on his departure from the city, and affairs had come to a pass not unlike that in which Pompeius had been invested with the sole consulship for the restoration of the commonwealth. Augustus was now invoked, as Pompeius had been, to accept extraordinary powers for the salvation of the state: but he already possessed the substance, and was satiated with the titles of power. His return to Rome was celebrated, in the fashion of the day, by honorary distinctions, which were not, however, without their significance. An altar was erected to Fortuna Redux, the good genius of the state which had

brought her hero home, and the day of his return was marked as a festive anniversary in the calendar.[1] Upon the 12th of October the feast of the Augustalia was henceforth to be solemnized. But in order to avoid the display of a solemn reception, he was careful to make his entry into the city, as on former occasions, by night.[2] His successes over the Parthians, obtained, as he vaunted, without a blow, by the mere terror of his name, he celebrated in due course by the modest ceremony of an ovation, on which occasion he led his legions on horseback, through the gates of the city under an arch erected in his honour. The temple of Mars the Avenger has been already mentioned, in which the spoils of Parthia and the recaptured standards were suspended, while medals were struck to commemorate the rout of the mail-clad bowmen, and the homage of Phraates.[3]

Augustus accepts the consular power. A. U. 735. B. C. 19.

It was upon this return to Rome, when the senate and people had repeatedly declared that the wheels of government could not move without the pressure of his guiding hand, that Augustus allowed the cycle of his administrative functions to be completed with the assumption for life of the consular power. Nor must we fail to remark that, at the same time that he thus allowed

[1] Dion, liv. 10. Eckhel (vi. 100.) and the numismatists cite medals referring to this circumstance. Similar honours were afterwards paid to Domitian (Martial, viii. 65.), Vespasian, Caracalla, and other emperors. Reimar on Dion, *l. c.* They are referred to by Claudian in the solemn exordium to his "Sixth Consulship of Honorius:"

"Aurea Fortunæ Reduci si templa priores
Ob reditum vovere ducum."

It is curious that this compliment was paid to Honorius, as to Augustus, upon a pretended restoration of the comitial elections:

"Indigenas habitus nativa Palatia sumunt,
Et patriis plebem castris sociante Quirino
Mars augusta sui renovat suffragia Campi."

[2] Suet., *Oct.* 53., says, that this was his usual custom. "Ne quem officii causa inquietaret."

[3] See above, chapter xxxiv.

the sphere of his own powers to be extended, he did not fail to advance his colleague Agrippa to a still nearer equality with himself. He caused him to share with himself the tribunitian power, the same which the most careful of Roman political writers has designated as the highest and most distinctive prerogative of the Cæsar.[1] This power, however, he limited in the first instance to a period of five years. About the same time he resumed, in his own person, the censure or prefecture of manners, and proceeded to exercise it by a second lustration of the senate, as well as by the introduction of sumptuary enactments. He proposed, at first, to reduce the chief assembly of the state to its original number of three hundred, but the reclamations of the members themselves, of whom he was about to demand so large a sacrifice, induced him to retain as many as six hundred; indeed, from the difficulty he acknowledged in ensuring the attendance of a sufficient number to transact business, he could hardly have afforded to reduce it lower by one half. With this reduction of its numbers was connected, perhaps, the raising of the census or qualification of the order.[2] This was the emperor's second reform of the senate, and warned, perhaps, by the animosity the first had excited, he secured the aid of Agrippa in the task, and threw a portion of the responsibility upon the senators themselves, selecting himself, in the first instance, thirty of the most distinguished, and requiring these to

Agrippa raised to participation in the tribunitian power.

Prefecture of manners. A. U. 736. B. C. 18.

[1] Tac. *Ann.* iii. 36.: "Id summi fastigii vocabulum Augustus repperit . . . M. deinde Agrippam socium ejus potestatis . . . delegit, ne successor in incerto foret." Comp. Dion, liv. 12.: *ὁ δὲ Ἀγρίππας ἐς τὴν αὐταρχίαν τρόπον τινὰ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ προήχθη.* Serv. on *Æn.* viii. 682.: "M. Agrippa . . . societate Augusti ad summos honores pervenit; nam Tribunus plebis quietissimus fuit." The writer intends to mark that the tribunate of Agrippa was exercised in perfect accord with the ruling powers of the state, not, as in the old times of the demagogues, in opposition to them.

[2] Dion, liv. 12. 18.; Suet. *Oct.* 41.

choose the remainder by a combination of appointment and ballot. Nevertheless he found himself the object of desperate hostility to many of the rejected; and it was on this occasion, we are told, that he deemed it advisable to protect his person with a guard of faithful friends, to wear a coat of mail under his robes, and search every senator who approached him.[1]

Now followed also the second attempt of Augustus to restore the honours of matrimony by penal legislation, the character and provisions of which have been specified in a preceding chapter. The *leges Juliæ* of this epoch included also divers measures, with the particulars of which we are not acquainted, for the regulation of criminal procedure in cases of bribery at elections, exactions in the provinces, and other subjects of administrative reform. With the close of the year 736, the decennial period to which Augustus had insisted on restricting his imperium was about to reach its termination. He does not appear to have waited to be pressed to renew it, but pleading the necessity which still existed for the superintendence of his vigilant authority, and apprehensive perhaps of the success of the conspiracies still rife against him, if he suffered himself to be disarmed, he required the senate and people, who certainly exhibited no reluctance in complying, to invest him with it once more, but this time, not for ten, but only for five years.[2]

Legislation of Augustus.

He accepts the imperium for five years. A. U. 736. B. C. 18.

The completion of the cycle of the imperial functions could not be more fitly celebrated than by a revival of the solemn festival, which, according to a tradition obscurely floating in the minds of the Romans, was appointed

The Ludi Sæculares. A. U. 737. B. C. 17.

[1] Suet. *Oct.* 35., on the authority of Cremutius Cordus, who, however, bears the character of a *frondeur*, and is not to be implicitly relied on.

[2] Dion, liii. 16., liv. 12.

to mark the transition of each succeeding age of the republic. When the Etruscans laid the foundation of a city, the births of the year, it was said, were carefully registered, and with the decease of the last survivor, the first age of the city was supposed to terminate. In a similar way each subsequent age was calculated; but this fanciful definition of the sæculum seems to have been soon lost in the more natural and, at the same time, stricter notion of a fixed number of years. Whether, however, the age or century of the early Romans was a hundred or a hundred and ten of their years, or whether it was computed with reference to periods of ten or of twelve months, of ordinary or intercalated years, remains still a mystery, into which it is the less necessary to inquire, inasmuch as the secular games, anterior to the epoch of Augustus, seem to have had little significance, and to have been celebrated with no sort of regularity.[1] But Augustus determined to seize an opportunity for inaugurating

[1] Much has been written upon the mode of computing time to which the secular games should be referred. I will try to compress within the limits of a note the most important points for consideration. We learn from Censorinus (c. 17.) that Valerius Antias, Varro, and Livy make 100 years the period of the sæculum, while Augustus himself and Horace specified 110. The notices we have of the celebration of these games anterior to the time of Augustus are so inconsistent that we must conclude there was no such regular celebration of them at all. The discrepancy, however, in the number of years, as stated to us (100 and 110), may perhaps be accounted for by comparing the ordinary year of Numa, 355 days, with the intercalary years of 377-8 days. Multiplying the first of these numbers by 110, and the second by 100, the results will come sufficiently near to one another to satisfy the conditions of a round number. (I take the hint of this solution from Walckenaer, *Hist. d'Horace*, ii. 269., though I cannot subscribe to the method by which he arrives at still closer results.) But however this may be, succeeding ages soon lost the clue to this synchronism. The emperor Claudius repeated the games A. U. 800, diregarding those of Augustus as irregular. Claudius was disregarded again in his turn by Domitian, who renewed the celebration in 841, anticipating, in his impatience, by six years the period prescribed by Augustus. To the Augustan computation Severus conformed precisely, and repeated the solemnity

his rule by a solemn ceremony, and with his usual tact he perceived how impressive the revival of this historic tradition might be made. The Sibylline oracles, searched by his obsequious priests, readily presented the sanction he required; the forms of the ceremonial were investigated by the most learned of his legal antiquarians; and the college of the Quindecemvirs undertook to prescribe the particulars of the observance, and superintend its execution. The ceremony was to occupy three days and nights, and, for some time previous to its commencement, heralds were appointed to traverse the streets of the city and the neighbouring towns, inviting every citizen to attend upon a solemn spectacle *which none of them had ever yet seen, or could ever see again.*[1] The secular games were, indeed, once more repeated within the lifetime of a large portion of that same generation, but never again, assuredly, on so worthy an occasion, nor, perhaps, with such popular enthusiasm. The ceremonies themselves, peculiar to the occasion, were of the simplest kind, consisting of the distribution of lustral torches, sulphur, and pitch, to the citizens at certain stations, and of wheat, barley, and beans, at another, in which the emperor himself took a prominent part. The Aventine, the Capito-

in 957, after two intervals of 110 years each Philippus, however, returned once more to the precedent of Claudius in the year of the city 1000. This was the last celebration, though Zosimus, in the year 1067, suggests that the time has arrived for another secular festival, according to the computation of Severus.

[1] Walckenaer's ingenuity has discovered another reason for fixing the age at 110 years, in the law of mortality as deduced from certain French tables. He finds that, in a population of the amount of that of the Roman empire, which he supposes to be four times that of France (28,763,192), there will be at any given time sixty-four individuals aged 105, thirty-two aged 106, sixteen aged 107, eight aged 108, four aged 109, but not one will have arrived at the age of 110. We cannot suppose that the Etruscans had the means of making such an induction as this, nor, probably, the capacity to deduce a law from it.

line, and the Palatine hills were paraded by crowds of citizens. Sacrifices were offered for the safety of the state to the chief divinities of the national religion. The game of Troy was enacted, together with other shows, in the circus, and occupied with scenic representations the intervals of sacrifice, and divided the interest of the multitude. The festival concluded with the performance of an ode of praise and thanksgiving in the atrium of Apollo on the Palatine, by a chorus of noble youths and maidens, the auspicious offspring of the holiest marriages, and both of whose parents were living.[1] Such were the rites, it was confidently affirmed, by which Rome had gained the favour of the gods, and secured their protection; and when their due repetition was first discontinued, three ages later, the champions of expiring Paganism beheld in their cessation an omen of the dissolution of the empire, and a not inadequate cause for it.[2]

Institution of the prefecture of the city. A. U. 737. B. C. 17.

By one writer, at least, the name of Agrippa is associated on equal terms with that of Augustus himself, in his account of the secular games, though in the more courtly panegyrics of the poets no such union or participation was, perhaps, alluded to.[3] If the antiquarian Censorinus repeated what he had read in the archives and on public monuments, Horace and Ovid reflected, we may suppose, the popular sentiment which per-

[1] The nature of the ceremonies may be collected from Horace's *Carm. Sæcul.*; Tac. *Ann.* xi. 11.; Zosimus, ii. init. The origin of the festival is narrated by Zosimus and Valerius Max. ii. 4, 5. For a lively description of them, see, besides Walckenaer, Dezobry, *Rome*, &c., ii. 412. foll.

[2] Zosimus, ii. 7.: *Τούτου δὲ μὴ φυλαχθέντος ἔδει εἰς τὴν νῦν συνέχουσαν ἡμᾶς ἐλθεῖν τὰ πράγματα δυσκληρίαν.*

[3] Censorinus, c. 17.: "Quintos ludos, C. Furnio, C. Junio Silano Coss. anno DCCXXXVII. Cæsar Augustus et Agrippa fecerunt." But Tacitus, Suetonius, Pliny, and Dion mention Augustus only. Compare the *Carmen Sæculare* of Horace and the allusion in Ovid, *Trist.* ii. 25. Horace's hymn is remarkable as an index to the popular feeling of the time, and shows how far the regard of the Romans for

sisted with unusual fidelity in confining all its enthusiasm to the good deeds of Augustus alone. That Agrippa, however, had now actually reached a point of elevation at which he could no longer be deputed by his colleague to discharge an office of dependence, appears very clearly in the formal institution at this period of the prefecture of the city. Hitherto, upon every emergency, it was to the faithful energy of Agrippa that the control of the capital, the command of its garrison, the supervision of the disaffected and suspected in its vicinity, had been entrusted. But this was an irregular office which had never yet been incorporated formally in the system of the imperial government. Now, at last, Augustus found it necessary to make it regular and perpetual. The association of Agrippa in so much of the outward show of power, had served, perhaps, to exasperate the remnant of the republicans; intrigues against the life of the emperor became more rife than ever, and permanent machinery might be required for the protection of his august person.[1] But he did not now depute Agrippa to act as the commander of his own bodyguard. He selected in the first place Valerius Messala, the foremost of the citizens in the estimation of his countrymen, and second to none in rank and the importance of his services. He might hope to gratify the Romans, and disarm their suspicions, by placing in the vanguard of tyranny a man whom they trusted and admired, rather than a creature of his own, such as Mæcenas. The Romans, however, and their master, must have been equally surprised when Messala, after holding

Augustus was removed from the vulgar adulation of later despotisms. The writer never mentions the name of his hero, and only once directly alludes to him as "Clarus Anchisæ Venerisque sanguis," while hardly a line could fail to remind the citizens indirectly of his presumed merits. No monument of antiquity gives us a clearer view of the self-respect of the Roman character, which is, perhaps the highest idea of religion of which Paganism was capable.

[1] Dion, liv. 15.: καὶ ἐκείνῳ καὶ τῷ Ἀγρίππᾳ ἐπιβουλεῦσαι.

the office six days, insisted upon resigning it, pleading, perhaps, his inability to discharge its arduous duties, but allowing it to be understood that he regarded it as hostile to liberty.[1] He was succeeded by Statilius Taurus, whose military distinctions have been already frequently mentioned, and who had been consul with Augustus ten years before. Taurus was now a man of advanced age, but the combined vigour and discretion with which he acquitted himself became a theme of general admiration.[2]

Among other tokens of incipient monarchy, must here be mentioned the select council which Augustus at this time employed for the handling of state affairs, which he gradually withdrew more and more from the consideration of the assembled senate. The first adoption of such a system is dated from an earlier period; but in the interval he had resided but little in the capital, and it was not, perhaps, till his second return from Asia, and second reform of the senate, that he allowed this privy council to become a distinct engine of his government. The convenience which had first suggested the arrangement became more and more sensibly felt with the decline in the political training of the great body of the nobles, and their growing indifference to public affairs. Their indisposition to business increased with the consciousness that their interference was not wanted, and gradually every transaction of importance

Institution of a council of state.

[1] Tacitus, *Ann.* vi. 11.: "Sumsit ex consularibus qui coerceret servitia et quod civium audacia turbidum, nisi vim metuat: primusque Messala Corvinus eam potestatem, et paucos intra dies finem, accepit, quasi nescius exercendi." The studied mildness with which Tacitus speaks of this office is rather remarkable. Compare Hieron. in Euseb. *Chron.*: Messala Corvinus primus præfectus urbis factus sexto die magistratu se abdicavit, *incivilem* potestatem esse contestans." This appointment is placed at the commencement of 738, by Frandsen, *Agrippa*, p. 80.

[2] Tacitus, *l. c.*: "Tum Taurus Statilius, quanquam provecta ætate, egregie toleravit."

was left to the secret deliberation of the imperial councillors. The reception of foreign kings and envoys, and some other stated ceremonials, still drew the senators together; but the real business of the state soon dropped as completely from their hands as that of election had slipped from the control of the people.[1]

Studious moderation of the emperor's demeanour.

The more prominent Augustus became in the outward titles and actual substance of power, the more did he strive to appear in his habits and demeanour simply the equal of his citizens. He rejected with signs of horror the appellation of *Dominus*, which awkward flatterers sometimes addressed to him; and once in the theatre when a player uttered the words, *O just and generous Lord*, and the spectators applied it with acclamations to the emperor, he repressed their flattery with a frown and gesture of impatience, and the next day issued an edict to forbid the use of a term which seemed to imply that the Romans were his slaves.[2] When consul, he generally traversed the streets on foot, nor at other times did he shut himself up in a close litter. In the senate he rejected, as far as possible, the distinctions of the consular dignity. The fathers were given to understand that he did not wish to be led from his door to the curia by a crowd of illustrious attendants, nor would he let them rise from their places when he entered the assembly or quitted it. As he passed along the streets, he received petitions with equal affability. The Romans repeated with delight his playful rebuke of a

[1] Suet. *Oct.* 35.; Dion, liii. 21. This council was instituted as a floating body, consisting of certain of the chief annual magistrates, and fifteen senators chosen for a period of six months. It was designed originally to prepare measures for the consideration of the larger assembly. Dion refers to the institution under the year 727.

[2] Suet. *Oct.* 53.; Dion, lv. 12.; but Orosius (vi. 22.) with only the Christian application of the word in view: "Domini appellationem, ut homo, declinavit."

nervous suppliant, whom he likened to a man giving a halfpenny to an elephant. Within the curia he suffered with patience many harsh attacks. One senator ventured to exclaim, *I do not know what you mean!* another, *I would contradict you, if I might!* Once, on his quitting the assembly in anger at the noisy altercations which were going on, several voices shouted after him, *We ought to be let speak on public affairs!*[1] It must be remarked that, with the loss of personal dignity, such of the senators as did not sink into abject flatterers, too often sought to assert their self-respect by ill-mannered freedoms. Augustus was known to leave the curia precipitately to check the angry retort which they would sometimes have provoked from him. When the fathers were discussing a proposal for appointing some of their body as a guard of honour to the emperor, Antistius Labeo, who was notorious for his blunt humour, growled out, *I for one am not fit to be posted before Cæsar's bedchamber, for I snore in my sleep.*[2] It was observed that, when Augustus recommended a candidate for a magistracy, he conducted him always in person through the public places, and solicited votes in his favour: his own vote he gave in his proper tribe, like a private citizen. When he canvassed for a prince of his own family, he was careful to add, *provided he deserves the honour.* He allowed himself to be summoned as a witness before the tribunals, to be examined and interrogated, and abstained, on the trial of a friend, from the formal testimony to his public services which was sanctioned by an invidious custom.[3] So great was now his respect for the rights of property, that the assigner of the military colonies suffered the proportions of his forum to be curtailed, rather than trespass upon the

[1] Suet. *Oct.* 53, 54.
[2] Dion, liv. 27. Compare another story of Labeo: Suet. *Oct.* 54.; Dion, liv. 15.
[3] Suet. *Oct.* 56.

limits of private occupiers.[1] As consul and corrector of manners, Augustus was anxious to exhibit strictness and firmness in the dispensation of justice. His temper was not naturally mild, or the infirmities of his health made him irritable, and he sometimes forgot his usual discretion. On one occasion he had brought a charge against a knight for having squandered his patrimony. The accused proved that he had, on the contrary, augmented it. *Well,* replied the emperor, annoyed at his error, *but at least you are living in celibacy in defiance of recent enactments.* The man could reply that, on the contrary, he was married, and was the father of three legitimate children. The inquisitor was silenced; but the accused, not satisfied with his triumph, added aloud, *Cæsar, when next you listen to charges against good citizens, see that your informants themselves be honest.*[2]

The time indeed was not far distant, when the majesty of the emperor, and the sanctity of the tribunitian power, would demand a severe account for freedoms far more innocent than these; but at present, little or no restraint was imposed upon the moroseness of disappointed patriots or place-hunters. The examples of Mæcenas himself, the minister in whom Augustus most confided, might be pleaded in defence of a liberty of speech which must appear offensive and inexcusable to our modern notions. This shrewd adviser was encouraged to watch closely his master's hasty and arbitrary temper, and recall him, when requisite, to a better mood. Once when the emperor was presiding at a criminal trial, and was about to sentence to death a number of culprits, Mæcenas, it is said, sought to speak with him in private, but being pre-

Freedom of Mæcenas as counsellor to Augustus.

[1] Suet. *l. c.*: "Forum angustius fecit, non ausus extorquere possessoribus proximas domos." Mon. Ancyr. "privato solo."

[2] Macrob. *Saturn.* ii. 4.

vented by the crowd, he tore a leaf from his tablets, wrote hastily upon it, *Up, hangman*, and threw it dexterously into the folds of the emperor's robe. Augustus opened and read the paper, and quitted the tribunal without a word.[1] He was pleased, we are assured, when he received such corrections as these, though we may well believe it was only in certain moods, well understood by those about him, and by certain persons under peculiar relations to him, that such liberties could safely be taken.

Easiness of temper cultivated by the chief men of the day.

The influence indeed which this shrewd adviser exercised upon Augustus, and through him upon public affairs, was strongly characteristic of the circumstances of the period. Mæcenas was a disciple of the school of Balbus and Oppius, Matius and Pansa, the mild and courtly favourites of the elder Cæsar, whose habits and temper had marked a reaction from the rough and bold self-assertion of the men directly preceding them. Cæsar himself, whose early life had been passed in scenes of angry contention, whose associates and opponents had been ever ready with the fierce retort and the rude blow, seems to have taken pleasure in his later years in reposing himself among gentler spirits. From such as these the fashion of forbearance in speech and action had descended upon the public men of the generation before us. The writings of the day present, or at least suggest to us, many pictures of urbanity and delicacy in the transaction of affairs, and as it were a studied desire to put aside the recollections of strife and bloodshed, which must have pressed so importunately on the minds of all. With the closing, indeed, of so many avenues to aspiring ambition, the interests of life were now less absorbing. Men became more indifferent to success, less furious in their rivalry with one another; they could afford to tolerate party differ-

[1] Macrob. *l. c.*; Dion, lv. 7.

ences where party itself led to no political prizes. Between the flatterers of the ruler on the one side and the grumblers on the other, lay this important class of polished triflers, polished and trifling in their outward demeanour, yet for the most part sufficiently in earnest at heart, and resolved to maintain the balance of the state, to control the discontented, who were ready to plunge it into another revolution, and to shame the corrupt and venal, who would have precipitated it into the arms of tyranny. To this class belonged all the greatest statesmen of the day, Messala, Pollio, Taurus perhaps, and Piso, who succeeded Taurus in the prefecture of the city. Such was the temper, and such, we may believe, the views of the high-minded Agrippa. But to these views no man gave such distinct form and expression as Mæcenas himself, who for many years governed the republic in the truest interests of his master, by quietly removing from his path the opposition which might have stimulated his more selfish passions. By teaching the Romans to be content with the liberties they were yet able to retain and enjoy, he averted the further encroachments of despotism. Mæcenas was not a soldier by profession; nor did he understand the machinery of military governments. At moments when the peace of Italy was seriously threatened, Augustus resorted for its defence to the stronger arm of Agrippa. But when these crises had passed, he gave his confidence once more to the man of policy and sagacity; and with no ostensible post, for he never rose above the equestrian rank, nor filled any public magistracy, Mæcenas was in fact, during a long course of years, the closest and dearest of the emperor's advisers. To the counsels of this minister the Romans ascribed the subtle policy by which Augustus gathered into his single hand the functions of the magistracy and the legislature. If the imperator actually deliberated on resign-

Mæcenas represents progress, Augustus conservation.

ing his extraordinary powers, it was Mæcenas who was generally believed to have advised his retaining them. The transformation of the ancient system of coordinate municipalities to the modern character of a government emanating from the centre to the extremities, was reputed to be the work of this able administrator; the chief lines at least of such a change were drawn by his hand, and filled in by statesmen of his school in later generations. If we may suppose any difference of opinion on these matters between the minister and his master, we may represent Mæcenas to ourselves as the exponent of progress, Augustus of conservation, the two principles which throughout the reign of the second Cæsar preserved so happy a balance.[1]

Mæcenas the first minister of the empire.

The views of the statesman combined with the natural temper of the man in moulding Mæcenas to habits of life which engaged the curious observation of his contemporaries, and have always retained their interest with posterity. It is to be remembered that he was the first *minister*, in the modern sense, of the Roman commonwealth; and his deportment, not uncommon, as modern times bear witness, in men of his class, was novel and peculiar in the eyes of a generation born under the free republic. The republican statesman of ancient Rome, an aristocrat by birth, a despot by his military training, was characterized by strong self-assertion, and rude independence of sentiment and manner. He was active, earnest, and busy; he left no moment unoccupied; he rushed from the forum to the camp, from the senate to his study, with marvellous rapidity and unwearied diligence; even the softer hours he allotted to polite conversation had their definite object of exercise and improvement. The last age of

[1] The traditional idea of the policy of Mæcenas may be supposed to be preserved in the counsels ascribed to him by Dion, lii. 14—40.

the republic brought out in the strongest way the harsher features of this unamiable character. The Romans were hardened by success more than they were softened by refinement. But about their qualities, such as they were, there had been at least no disguise. The consul and imperator never pretended indifference to the honours and advantages of his position. His countrymen, he knew, were proud both of the office and of the men who filled it, and required no concession on his part to any envious feelings on theirs. Believing himself the greatest and noblest of his kind, he gave the world to know it without reserve or delicacy. But with the advent of the empire all this was destined to undergo a complete change, though it could not arrive immediately. For more than one generation we shall have to remark the angry struggles of the old Roman pride against the dissimulation which circumstances so potently enjoined it. The great nobles of the Augustan age felt instinctively that they had fallen from their high position, and ceased to be the first objects of their countrymen's admiration; but they descended with reluctance from the pedestal of official eminence, and strove to deceive themselves with empty titles and not less empty magnificence. Already a vast revolution was embodied in the fatal apparition of the first subject of the empire, the animating spirit of its policy, the controller of its laws, and dispenser of its honours, averring entire indifference to all public distinction, lounging carelessly in the forum, amidst the men of business and the men of pleasure, with his robe trailing on the ground, leaning on the arms of two eunuchs, chatting with the chance comers of his acquaintance, gazing listlessly at statues and paintings, and basking in the brilliant sun of Italy, or sporting in song and epigram with the wits and poets of the day.[1] How seductive must have been the

[1] Seneca, *Epist.* 114.

fashion thus set by the most prosperous and most popular of politicians! The world moulds itself to the habits of the minister more readily than to those of the sovereign himself; for the eminence of the one seems attainable by duly copying his behaviour, that of the other is altogether beyond the sphere of an ordinary ambition.

Political influence of Mæcenas as a patron of literature.

Undoubtedly in the manners of Mæcenas there was a mixture of nature and artifice. Under the exterior of careless good humour he concealed real shrewdness, activity, and vigilance; he was fully possessed of all the threads of party intrigue, and was never unprepared, at the fittest moment, to baffle any hostile aspiration.[1] His far-famed patronage of art and literature was not unalloyed by political motives. The poets whom he caressed, and with whose names his own has become inseparably entwined, were in fact the instruments, perhaps unconsciously, of his system of government; and their encomiums on the person of the most gracious of statesmen, and the glories of his administration, were inspired, if not by his gold and his wine, at least by the charm of his affability and the adroitness of his flattery. The praises lavished on Mæcenas by Virgil, Horace, and Propertius are recorded for all readers; but we know not what were the blandishments by which he engaged or retained them. The same lax philosophy, gilded with the brilliant name of Epicurus, which Cæsar had used to quell the remorse of his followers, when he urged them to trample on the sanctions which upheld the frame of the republic, was employed by Mæcenas to stifle the yearnings of ambition and the murmurs of discontent. It stimulated activity in the one case, while it served to paralyse it in the other.

The air of easy and almost contemptuous nonchalance which Mæcenas assumed so successfully in public life, stands in curious contrast with the susceptibility he was unable to con-

His domestic chagrins.

[1] Vell. ii. 88.

ceal in the conduct of his domestic affairs. The man who could control the politicians of Rome without an apparent effort, was himself no better than a struggling captive in the hands of an intriguing woman. His wife Terentia, or Terentilla, was celebrated for her beauty and caprices, for the violence of her temper and the powers of her fascinations. From the licentiousness of conduct imputed to her we may suppose that she was unfaithful to him with more than one lover; but the interest she excited in Augustus himself was perhaps peculiarly galling to the uxorious husband, who was unable to resent an injury inflicted by his master. Terentia is supposed to have been sister by adoption to Licinius Murena, who was put to death for a conspiracy against the emperor in the year 732.[1] It was a remarkable instance of the power she exercised over Mæcenas, that she extracted from him the secret of the discovery his agents had made of the plot. Once it is said the angry husband availed himself of the indulgence of the laws to divorce her without a public scandal; but he speedily sued for a reconciliation. His frequent and transient quarrels with her became a topic of general derision. Mæcenas, it was said, married a thousand times, and every time the same woman.[2] But this inconsistency in the character of the wariest of ministers might be thought too common to deserve remark, were it not worthy of observation as a trait of manners. It would be difficult to discover such an instance of female domination at an earlier period of the republic, while it became a prominent and striking feature in the history of the times which followed.

The establishment of the prefecture of the city released both Augustus and Agrippa from the necessity of keeping watch in the capital, where they found

[1] Dion, liv. 3.; Suet. *Oct.* 66. [2] Seneca, *Ep.* 114.

it constantly more difficult to maintain, amidst flatterers and cavillers, the modest reserve they had prescribed to themselves in their intercourse with the citizens. In the year 737 Augustus had adopted the two sons whom Julia had now borne to his son-in-law, in order, perhaps, to render his own person more secure against conspirators. The children now received the names of Caius and Lucius Julius Cæsar, names which sufficed of themselves to impress the Romans with the conviction that their bearers were destined to imperial pre-eminence. Agrippa, satisfied with this mark of confidence, had already betaken himself to the eastern provinces of the empire, while Augustus was preparing again to inspect in person the western. Like Pompeius, the emperor had experienced the difficulty of abiding strictly by his own statutes, swerving neither to partiality, nor severity. If he proposed to quit the helm for a season, there was no lack of pedants to remind the Romans of the celebrated example of Solon, who quitted Athens that his countrymen might try, without fear or favour, the real strength of his institutions. Nor were there wanting busy tongues to whisper that he was disturbed

Adoption of Caius and Lucius, sons of Agrippa by Julia. A. U. 737. B. C. 17.

[1] Caius, Lucius, and occasionally Sextus, are the only prænomens of the Julian family that occur in the Fasti. Every gens had its proper prænomens, which it repeated from one generation to another, and abstained not less carefully from others. Thus the Cornelii were mostly Caii, Lucii, and Publii; they have no Titus or Quintus. The Claudii have no Titus or Quintus; the Æmilii no Titus. The Quinctii are always Titus, Lucius, or Caius. It may be interesting to remark how these prænomens bore reference originally to nobility of birth. Thus Caius and Cnæus=gnavus, "well born;" Titus and Lucius are the Sabine and Etruscan words for "noble." Comp. Titius, Tatius, on the one hand; on the other Lucumon, Luceres. Marcus="warrior;" comp. Mamercus, Martius. Spurius, superius (see Donaldson's *Varronianus*, p. 26.)="high born." Aulus is cognate with Augustus, &c. ="noble," or "venerable." From Marcus, Lucius, and Publius we have the gentile names Marcius, Lucilius, and Publilius; as from Quintus, Sextus, and Decimus are formed Quinctius, Sextius, and perhaps Decius.

by the observations made at home on his amour with Terentia, and wished to enjoy her society beyond the reach of curiosity. We may conclude from this surmise, whatever other value it may have, that Mæcenas now accompanied his master into the provinces.[1]

Disturbances on the frontiers. Disaster of Lollius in Gaul. A. U. 738. B. C. 16.

But in truth the disturbed state of the frontiers was a sufficient motive for this renewed activity. Not only had many of the Alpine tribes rushed again to arms, and harassed the colonists of the Cisalpine, but from beyond the Alps, also, the Pannonians and Noricans had invaded the Istrian peninsula, which now claimed to be a portion of Italy. The Dalmatian tribes were in open insurrection; Macedonia was ravaged by the Mœsian Dentheletæ and Scordisci; the Sarmatians had inundated Thrace; and lastly, the central fortresses of Spain were shaken once more by renewed commotions.[2] The government, indeed, was not in any quarter taken by surprise. Presidiary cohorts were stationed at every threatened point of attack, and it required no extraordinary effort of their arms to check and overthrow the aggressors in all directions. An irruption, however, of the Germans, who had crossed the Lower Rhine in considerable numbers, was represented as more formidable. Lollius, the imperial legate on that frontier, was defeated with some loss and still more disgrace, for the eagle of the fifth legion was left in possession of the victors.[3] Augustus hurried, it is said, across the Alps, with the purpose of marching against them. But while he was advancing northwards, Lollius rallied his troops again, and the Germans thought it prudent to withdraw from a collision with the collected forces of the empire. Retreating

[1] Dion, liv. 19.

[2] Dion, liv. 20.

[3] Suet. *Oct.* 23., says the defeat was "majoris infamiæ quam detrimenti." Comp. Vell. ii. 97.; Tac. *Ann.* i. 10. The favourable character Horace gives of Lollius, *Od.* iv. 9., is in marked contrast with the imputations of Velleius. We may suspect partiality on the one side as readily as prejudice on the other.

hastily into their own country, they sent hostages for their future tranquillity.

InIquitous proceedings of Licinus, the emperor's procurator in Gaul.

Within the confines of the Gaulish province, however, Augustus found a more fatal enemy than the Usipetes and the Sigambri. His own procurator, Licinus, had shaken the fidelity of the Gauls by his monstrous exactions.[1] This man was himself a Gaul by extraction; he had been captured in his childhood, and subsequently manumitted by Julius Cæsar, and, as the freedman of the dictator's heir, Octavius, had acquired by his useful talents the favour and confidence of his patron. Raised successively to various places of trust and profit, he had been promoted at last to the general superintendence of the finances of the imperial province. From Lugdunum, the centre of his administration, he had tyrannized over the whole of Gaul with the insolence of a despot.[2] He combined, said the wretched provincials, the pride of the Roman with the avarice of the sordid barbarian, and he had no compunction in crushing by his extortions the chiefs of the native nobility. Not only did he exact the legitimate dues with ruthless severity, but imposed additional burdens for the enrichment of himself and his creatures. Such, it was declared, was his unblushing wickedness, that he made the people pay their monthly taxes fourteen times in the year. December, he said, is clearly the tenth, not the twelfth month. I demand the quotas of two months more,

[1] Dion, liv. 21., calls this man Licinius, but as the freedman of Cæsar it is more probable that he took the gentile name of Julius. On the other hand, the scholiast on Juvenal identifies him with the Licinus cited as an example of enormous wealth by Seneca, Persius, and his author in various places. The reading in Suet. *Oct.* 67. Licinium Enceladum seems to be corrupt.

[2] Senec. *Ludus in Claud.* 6.: "Lugduni . . . . ubi Licinius multos annos regnavit." Seneca might have applied to him the proverb which he reserves for the emperor Claudius: "Gallum in suo sterquilinio plurimum posse."

which I will call Augusti.[1] When at last complaints of this injustice reached the ears of the emperor, he was inclined to sympathize with the oppressed provincials, and ashamed of the confidence he had reposed in a culprit so odious. On reaching Lugdunum, he required his procurator to render an account of his transactions. But Licinus, we are told, finding his position precarious, invited his master to visit him at his house, and there exposing to his view the hordes he had accumulated, insinuated that all these treasures, extorted from the public enemy, he had amassed for the service of the emperor himself. Augustus acknowledged the policy of the device, and accepted the splendid bribe. Licinus continued to advance in his prosperous career, maintaining himself in favour by the occasional contribution of great sums to public works in Rome, where the basilica of Julius Cæsar was completed principally at this freedman's expense.[2] He acquired the reputation of the richest of Roman upstarts; and when he died, at a great age, after surviving Augustus himself, his marble sepulchre was contrasted, with bitter indignation, with the humble grave of a Cato, and the unsheltered bier of a Pompeius.[3]

Augustus repairs to Lugdunum.

The emperor prolonged his residence in Gaul through the years 739 and 740, and finally completed the arrangements connected with the organization of the province. His system of government required him to divide his time almost equally at home and abroad: he remembered

Augustus prolongs his stay in Gaul. A. U. 739, 740.

[1] Such seems to be the meaning of Dion, who expresses himself rather confusedly.

[2] Macrob. *Saturn.* ii. 4.; Schol. ad Juven. i. 109.

[3] Comp. the epigram of Varro Atacinus quoted by the scholiast on Persius, ii. 36:

"Marmoreo Licinus tumulo jacet; at Cato parvo;
Pompeius nullo: quis putet esse Deos?"

The freedmen of the great nobles had already become notorious under the republic for the wealth they had been permitted to accu-

that he was imperator as well as princeps, that he wielded the proconsular power as well as the tribunitian. The position of Gaul, moreover, lying between the hostile zones of Germany and Vindelicia, demanded more than ordinary vigilance. Immense preparations were now in progress for the effective subjugation of both those regions, and for binding the Rhine and Danube together by a chain of Roman outposts. It was from Gaul, the great storehouse of men and material, that the resources for many future campaigns were principally to be drawn. We may believe that the emperor's presence there, together with the attitude assumed by his legions on the frontier, sufficed to keep the Germans in check, and prevent any co-operation from that quarter with the tribes which the Romans were at the same time assailing in the south. The exploits of the lieutenants of Augustus in the western Alps had secured the passes into Gaul, but those which led into Germany and Pannonia were still in the hands of the barbarians, and the communications of Rome with her legions in the valleys of the Save and Danube lay often at the mercy of these unmanageable hordes. The Alps from the Simplon pass to the sources of the Drave were occupied by the Rhætians. Beyond the Inn and the Lake of Constance, the plain which slopes gently towards the Danube was known by the name of Vindelicia. Styria, the Kammergut of Salzburg, and the southern half of the Austrian Archduchy, belonged to the tribes of Noricum, while the passes between that country and Italy were held by the Carnians. The rich plains of the Cisalpine offered a tempting prey to these hungry mountaineers, and the honour, as well as the security,

Formidable position of the Rhætians and Vindelicians.

mulate. Such was the case especially with Chrysogonus, Heron, Amphion, Hipparchus, and Demetrius, the freedmen of Sulla, Lucullus, Catulus, Antonius, and Pompeius. Comp. Plin. *H. N.* xxxv. 18. But the reign of the freedmen in Rome was yet to come.

of Italy demanded their thorough subjugation. Nor was it less important to extinguish the sparks of freedom still visible from the seats of the conquered Gauls. But these rude warriors were not terrified into submission by the memorable chastisement of the Salassi; on the contrary, they were rather exasperated by the treachery which accompanied it, and retorted the cruelty of the conquerors with no less shocking barbarity.

Campaigns of Drusus and Tiberius in the eastern Alps.

Under these circumstances cause of warfare was never wanting on either side, but the Romans, as usual, pretended that they were provoked to hostilities by intolerable aggressions.[1] The Camuni and Vennones, the people of the central regions of the Alps, were the first attacked. P. Silius engaged these tribes in 738, and worsted, not them only, but the Noricans and Pannonians also, who had made an incursion into Istria.[2] The year following it was resolved to follow up these successes with method and perseverance. Drusus, the emperor's younger stepson, now in his twenty-third year, took the command of the legions from Silius, overthrew the Rhætians in the Tridentine Alps, traversed the Brenner pass, and defeated the Brenni and Genauni in the valley of the Inn. Whether he made any further progress towards the Danube is not recorded; it is more probable that he turned westward to effect a junction with his brother Tiberius, who had been despatched at the same time from the Rhenish frontier to attack the Vindelicians in the rear. Ascending the valley of the Rhine beyond the frontiers of the Gaulish province, Tiberius had reached the Lake of Constance,

[1] Dion, liv. 22.: *καὶ ταῦτα μὲν καὶ συνήθη πως τοῖς οὐκ ἐνσπόνδοις ποιεῖν ἐδόκουν, πᾶν δὲ δὴ τὸ ἄῤῥεν τῶν ἁλισκομένων οὐχ ὅτι τὸ φαινόμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἐν ταῖς γαστράσιν ἔτι τῶν γυναικῶν ὄν, μαντείαις τισὶν ἀνευρίσκοντες, ἔφθειρον.*

[2] Dion, liv. 19.; Flor. iv. 12.

and had there launched a flotilla, with which he surprised the enemy in quarters where he least expected to be assailed. He penetrated the gorges of the Upper Rhine and Inn in every direction; and at the conclusion of a brilliant and rapid campaign the two brothers had effected the complete subjugation of the country of the Grisons and the Tyrol.[1] The permanence of their successes was doubtless assured by the wholesale slaughter or captivity of the wretched people. *Strike once and strike no more*, was the maxim of the Roman imperator; and perhaps the process was merciful even where mercy was least intended. But it is impossible not to marvel at the extraordinary power of the Roman arms, which could thus in a single campaign storm, rifle and dismantle the great fortress of modern freedom. The free tribes of the eastern Alps appear then for the first time in history only to disappear again for a thousand years; their memory was perpetuated on the monument erected by Augustus, on which he enumerated the names of four and forty conquered nations. A few of the bravest among them have obtained a place in the most martial of Horace's odes, and swell the deathless triumph of their twice-fortunate conquerors.[2]

Augustus returns to Rome. Tiberius consul. A. U. 741. B. C. 13.

Having settled the affairs of Gaul, Augustus made a final progress into Spain, to receive once more the submission of the Cantabrians. Drusus was retained in command of the armies on the Rhine, while Tiberius was despatched to Rome, to assume the consulship for 741. In the following July, the emperor himself returned to his capital, amidst the same demonstrations of flattery, which had already greeted him on so many

[1] Dion. liv. 22.; Vell. ii. 95.; Strab. iv. 6. p. 206.

[2] Horace, *Od.* iv. 4.:

"Videre Rhæti bella sub Alpibus
Drusum gerentem," &c.

former occasions. Cornelius Balbus, who, at the moment of his arrival being announced, was exhibiting shows in a theatre he had recently erected, pretended that he had sped his return by the auspicious ceremony. Tiberius, as consul, repaid the compliment by demanding his opinion first of the senators. An altar, it was decreed, should be placed in the senate-house, on which incense should be offered for the safety, not of the state, but of its ruler; but this token of respect, the principle of which is recognised under every modern monarchy, was rejected by one who still called himself the first citizen of the Roman republic. The day after his return, which had taken place, according to his usual custom, at night, Augustus saluted the people from the door of his Palatine residence, and then, ascending the Capitol, took the laurel wreath from his fasces, and placed it on the knees of Jove's statue. That day the whole Roman people were admitted to the use of the baths gratuitously, and the services of their barbers remunerated from the fiscus. Augustus then convened the senate to receive the account of his proconsular acts; and being himself hoarse from a casual cold, the recital of his victories and his ordinances was made by his quæstor. At this time he determined also the limits of military service, the uncertainty of which had caused some discontent. Twelve years were assigned as the term of prætorian, sixteen of legionary service.[1] Instead of lands, for which, since the days of Sulla, the veterans had been constantly clamouring, pensions were henceforth to be given in money, an arrangement which was accepted by both

[1] Dion, liv. 25. A few years afterwards the difficulty of recruiting induced the emperor to increase the pay of the prætorians after sixteen and the legionaries after twenty years' service, by which they were tempted to remain longer under arms. Dion, lv. 23. It would seem from the complaints of the soldiers at a later period (see Tac. *Ann.* i. 17.) that this extension of service was made, at least on some stations, compulsory.

the citizens and the soldiers as a mutual compromise. If less splendid than houses and estates, these fixed rewards were of more real value to the recipients, while they relieved the citizens from the constant fear of spoliation, which embittered the glories of each successful campaign.

Agrippa in the East. A. U. 737. B. C. 17.

While Augustus was occupying himself with the affairs of the western provinces, the opposite hemisphere, as we have seen, he had committed to the care of Agrippa. The exigencies of a government so widely divided, especially at a period of transition when every state was resigning itself, with more or less agitation, to a change from the fitful licentiousness of republican imperators to the systematic despotism of imperial procurators, required the personal superintendence either of the chief of the empire, or of his direct representative, with the same interests as his own. Agrippa quitted the city in the summer of 737, and reached Syria before the winter, accompanied by his consort Julia, or followed by her at a short interval. While engaged in the administration of this province,[1] he was visited by Herod of Judea, who offered, with protestations of friendship and devotion, to escort him within the frontiers of his own kingdom. This prince, the most consummate adept in flattery of all the dependents of the imperial court, had recently returned from Rome, where he had succeeded in recovering the liberty of Aristobulus and Alexander, his sons by Mariamne, who had been kept there as hostages for his own fidelity. These youths were received by their countrymen with the strongest marks of affection for the sake of their much-injured mother; nor does Herod himself appear to have entertained any jealousy of them. But they were all the more hateful to Salome and her party, through

[1] In Syria Agrippa founded the colony of Berytus (Beyrout), and made it a station for two legions, A. U. 739. Strabo, xvi. 2. p. 756.

fear of their influence over their capricious father, by whom they were already treated with the distinction due to their birth, and united in marriage, the one with a daughter of Salome herself, the other with the child of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia.[1]

Herod led his guest through his new cities Sebaste and Cæsarea, which he had named in honour of Augustus, and displayed to him the magnificence of his buildings, as if the most delicate compliment he could pay the Roman potentate was to show himself not afraid to reveal the abundance of his resources. Agrippa in return assured him of his security, and confirmed to his subjects the privileges accorded them by the first Cæsar. The Jews, it would seem, were flattered by the Roman entering their city as an admiring visitor, and sacrificing a hecatomb to their God.[2] From Judea he returned to Asia Minor for the winter, in order to prepare an expedition for settling the affairs of the kingdom of the Bosphorus. The throne of Mithridates had been seized by a pretended descendant of the great king, who called himself by the Roman name of Scribonius, on his marriage with Dynamis, the widow of its recent occupant Asander. This usurpation was unpalatable to the Romans, and Polemo, king of Pontus, was invited to overthrow it, and assume the sovereignty under their protection. The natives, indeed, speedily ridded themselves of the first of these intruders, but they were reluctant to admit the second, in support of whose pretensions Agrippa sailed in the spring of 740 as far as Sinope. Here he was joined by Herod, whose officious zeal had prompted him to follow his patron with powerful reinforcements. The Bosphorus now submitted, and received Asander. Agrippa had no occasion to pro-

He visits Judea, and returns to Asia Minor. A. U. 740. B. C. 13.

[1] Joseph. *Ant. Jud.* xvi. 1, 2.

[2] Joseph. *Ant. Jud.* xvi. 2. 1. ἦγεν δὲ καὶ εἰς τὴν πόλιν τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν . . . . Ἀγρίππας δέ καὶ τῷ Θεῷ μὲν ἑκατόμβην κατέθυσεν.

ceed farther. He returned through the states of Asia Minor, still accompanied by Herod, who seems to have feared to lose sight of him, and listened at Ephesus to the complaints of the Jewish residents, who resented the desecration of their sabbaths and holidays, and not less the robbery of the tribute they annually sent to the temple of Jerusalem. Among other favours they now received was the important boon of exemption from service as auxiliaries to the legions, a privilege conceded to a few only of the most fortunate communities, and to no other entire nation but their own. So early did this people manifest their aversion to the use of arms, which has been disregarded even in our own times only by the most despotic of rulers.[1]

But Agrippa, notwithstanding the kindness he exhibited to his favourites, could manifest, it would seem, no slight capriciousness, when provoked, however unreasonably. The story of his treatment of the people of Ilium may be taken, at least, in illustration of the wanton abuses of power too common among the Roman commanders in the provinces. Julia, it seems, chose to bathe in the Scamander, a mountain stream, which, as Homer long before had signalized, was liable to the most sudden and violent rises after rain. The delicate Roman lady with difficulty escaped from the waves which had well-nigh overwhelmed the hero Achilles. The Ilians, who were not more prepared for the arrival of the princess than for the sudden inundation of their river, were surely blameless in the matter; but Agrippa thought fit to impose upon them, for their imputed neglect, a fine of a hundred thousand drachmas. The intercession, however, of Herod availed, we are told, in their behalf.[2]

Harsh treatment of the people of Ilium.

[1] Dion, liv. 24.; Joseph. *Ant.* xvi. 2. 2.
[2] Nicolaus Damasc. ed. Orell. p. 8. Frandsen's *Agrippa*, p. 90.

Agrippa returns to Rome, and declines a triumph. A.U. 741. B.C. 13.

In 741 Agrippa was recalled to Rome, after a four years' absence, or as the Orientals themselves understood it, after having exercised imperial power for a period of ten years, counting from his first mission in 731. At Rome he met Augustus, who had returned about the same time. During his absence in the East the senate had decreed him a triumph, together with a supplication. The triumph Agrippa declined; but it may be a question whether he thus meant to acknowledge that he was only the lieutenant of the imperator, or whether, as admitted to a participation in empire itself, he regarded such an honour as beneath his acceptance. Thus Augustus allowed several of his lieutenants to triumph, but never condescended to triumph himself after receiving the imperial powers.[1] Whatever was Agrippa's motive, the emperor seems to have been well satisfied with his behaviour, and desired him to resume the tribunitian power for a second five years' term. Nevertheless he could not be at ease in Rome, where Tiberius, in whom he saw a formidable rival, was now consul. It is probable, moreover, that he was annoyed by the loose conduct of Julia, whose dissolute manners had become already notorious. He could not risk offending Augustus by repudiating his daughter, but he was too proud to connive at irregularities committed under his own eyes. Before the end of the year he quitted the city once more for Pannonia, where serious disturbances had again broken out.[2]

The year which followed forms an important epoch

[1] All authorities agree that the powers deputed to Agrippa in the provinces were in some respect greater than those of any mere imperial legate. Dion, liv. 28., says expressly, *μεῖζον αὐτῷ τῶν ἑκασταχόθι ἔξω τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀρχόντων ἰσχύσαι ἐπιτρέψας.*

[2] Dion, liv. 28. He went to Pannonia, Dion says, with greater powers than any Roman officer had ever exercised abroad before him.

in the life of Augustus. It beheld his elevation to the chief pontificate, the last of the great offices of the republic which remained to complete the cycle of his functions as monarch of Rome. At the same time it left him alone in the possession of all their honours and burdens. The death of Lepidus removed his scruples against wresting the sacred office from a living occupant, however despicable, and early in 742 he became formally invested with the direction of the national rites, which he had long virtually exercised.[1] Meanwhile Agrippa had crossed the Adriatic, and proceeded with undiminished energy to attack the Pannonians, though in the depth of winter. The barbarians, surprised at the suddenness of the assault, made speedy submission, which seems to have been accepted without any solid guarantees. Agrippa returned to Italy without delay; but he fell sick while on his journey, and Augustus, who hastened from Rome to Campania to meet him, found him already dead.[2] He conveyed the body himself into the city, and pronounced over it a funeral oration in the forum, with a curtain drawn before him, because the eyes of the pontiff might not rest upon a corpse.[3] The honoured remains were then consumed in the Campus Martius, and the ceremonies observed on the occasion were carefully noted as a precedent for the obsequies

Augustus becomes chief pontiff on the death of Lepidus.

Death of Agrippa.

[1] On the 6th of March, "prid. non. Mart." Kal. Maff. in Orell. *Inscr.* ii. p. 386.; Ovid, *Fast.* iii. 415.; Seneca, *de Clem.* i. 10.

[2] Agrippa died probably before the end of March. Augustus received the news of his sickness while celebrating the festival of the Quinquatrus, "xiv.—x. Kal. Apr." Ovid, *Fast.* iii. 809.; Dion, liv. 28.

[3] It is curious that the meaning of this ceremonial should have been forgotten in the time of Dion. It is explained by Seneca in relation to a similar scene forty years later. *Cons. ad Marc.* 15.: "Ipse (Tiberius) pro rostris laudavit filium, stetitque in conspectu posito corpore, interjecto tantummodo velamento, quod Pontificis oculos a funere arceret." But Augustus and Tiberius were both pedantic in their observances. Comp. Tac. *Ann.* i. 62.

of the emperor. The ashes were laid up, not in the tomb which Agrippa had designed for himself, but in the mausoleum of Augustus, which thus opened the second time for his second son-in-law.[1] Whatever jealousy may at times have existed between the two confederates (and it seems impossible but that the sharing of their prize must have caused some heart-burning between them), it was now buried in the family sepulchre, and Augustus lived to feel acutely, and to lament sincerely, the loss of so faithful a servant and so useful a colleague. He was not displeased at the accents of popular admiration which pronounced his friend the best man of his generation. From the estates of the deceased, which devolved upon himself, he gratified the citizens with munificent largesses. Agrippa had bequeathed his baths and gardens to the people, whose concern may be estimated perhaps by the report of omens and evil prodigies which were supposed to attend the catastrophe.[2]

Character of Agrippa.

There can be little to regret in the loss of the funeral panegyric which Augustus pronounced over his friend, which has sunk into the oblivion to which all such pieces have been speedily consigned. It was more remarkable, assuredly, for what it disguised than for what it revealed of his character. Yet it is with reluctance that we let the curtain drop upon a man so eminent in public life, yet so much less known to us than from his public career he deserves. There is no statesman of the best known period of Roman history who filled a large space in the eyes of his countrymen, with whom we are so little acquainted as Agrippa. His energy, bravery,

[1] "Condidit Agrippam quo te, Marcelle, sepulchro."
Consol. ad Liv. 67.

[2] Dion, liv. 29. The district of the Thracian Chersonese (Gallipoli) was a private domain of Agrippa, which he bequeathed along with the rest of his possessions to Augustus. Dion, who mentions the fact, can give no account of how he came by this estate.

and conduct, both in military and civil affairs, marked him for the first place; yet he was always content with the second. His countenance, as to which existing monuments agree with the description of the ancient writers, was stern and rough, yet his tastes were liberal and elegant.[1] If we possessed any notices of his private habits and conversation, we might acquire perhaps the key to these apparent inconsistencies; but no anecdote is preserved of his domestic life; we know not what were his relaxations, or who were his companions in them.[2] The only saying attributed to him, marks, if genuine, the great spring of his actions, and the bent of his character. *By union*, he used to say, *small things become great; by division the greatest fall to pieces.*[3] Such was indeed the maxim of his life; such the motto which might fitly be inscribed upon his tomb. His whole career was devoted to consolidate the empire of his patron; and the small beginnings of the two youthful adventurers waxed, through his self-control as much as by his energy, into the widest development of all human history. To this he sacrificed the objects which a more selfish man would alone have regarded. The only token of personal feeling he exhibited was his vexation at being apparently postponed to Marcellus. He resented being made the third person in the empire, but he was satisfied to continue always the

[1] Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* xxxv. 4.) characterizes his countenance by the expressive word "torvitas," and calls him "vir rusticitati propior quam deliciis;" at the same time he remarks the taste he showed in decorating the city, and making the finest works of art accessible to the people. See vol. iii. chapter xxviii.

[2] The story told by Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* xiv. 28.), that Cicero, the orator's son, once in a drunken fit threw a cup at him, is hardly an exception to this remark.

[3] Seneca, *Epist.* 94.: "M. Agrippa, vir ingentis animi, qui solus ex his quos civilia bella claros potentesque fecerunt, felix in publicum fuit, dicere solebat, multum se huic sententiæ debere: nam concordia res parvæ crescunt, discordia maximæ dilabuntur." The sentence is in Sallust's *Jugurtha*, c. 10.

second.[1] He gained his reward in the well-earned honours of his life, and the unanimous voice of posterity in his favour[2]; nor less perhaps in the seasonableness of his death, which removed him at the age of fifty-one from the perils of the second place, and the risk of succeeding to the first.[3]

[1] Vell. ii. 79.: "Parendi, sed uni, scientissimus, aliis imperandi cupidus." ii. 88.: "Nec minora consequi potuit, sed non tam concupivit."

[2] Seneca, *l. c.* Dion, liv. 29.: ἄριστος τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν διαφανῶ γενόμενος.

[3] Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* vii. 6.) supposes him to have been unhappy, and connects his sufferings with the inauspicious phenomenon of his birth: "In pedes procedere nascentem contra naturam est; quo argumento eos appellavere Agrippas, ut ægre partos: qualiter M. Agrippam ferunt genitum, unico prope felicitatis exemplo in omnibus ad hunc modum genitis. Quamquam is quoque adversa pedum valetudine, misera juventa, exercito ævo inter arma mortesque, ad noxia successu, infelici terris stirpe omni, sed per utrasque Agrippinas maxime, quæ Caium et Domitium Neronem principes genuere, totidem faces generis humani: præterea brevitate ævi, quinquagesimo uno raptus anno, in tormentis adulteriorum conjugis, socerique prægravi servitio, luisse augurium præposteri natalis existimatus." The passage of course is only important from the sense it evinces of the misery attendant upon the highest human fortune.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

The children of Agrippa.—Character of the Claudii: Tiberius and Drusus.—Marriage of Tiberius and Julia.—Policy of the empire on the Rhine and Danube.—Expedition of Drusus in Germany, and Tiberius in Pannonia.—Death of Drusus, A. U. 745.—Extension of the empire in Thrace and Mœsia.—Tiberius invades Germany.—Introduction of Caius Cæsar to public life.—Death of Mæcenas, and final remarks on his character. (A. U. 742—747. B. C. 12—7.)

The family of Agrippa.

AGRIPPA left two sons, Caius and Lucius, who have been already mentioned, of the age of eight and five years respectively, and more than one daughter.[1] A third son was born some months after his decease, to whom Augustus gave the name of Agrippa Postumus. The favour with which the emperor had distinguished his daughter's offspring, and which he promised to extend to the yet unborn infant, was their natural right as scions of his own race; the claims of Livia's children on his affections, though educated under his guardianship, could not really come in competition with those of Julia. But while the idea of a family succession was assuming consistency in the minds both of Augustus and his subjects, the weight of empire was becoming daily more burdensome to the ruler, who knew not indeed, till he lost Agrippa's support, how overwhelming it must prove for a single arm. That untoward event

[1] The daughters of Agrippa were Vipsania, the child of his first marriage, when yet a private citizen, with a daughter of Atticus; and by his Cæsarean princess, a Julia and an Agrippina. Of these two, more will be said hereafter. Vipsania soon recedes from the view of public history; but it is remarked of her, that she alone, of all the children of Agrippa, died a natural death, without even a suspicion of violence. Tac. *Ann.* iii. 19.

advanced by another step the intrigues of Livia, and this time, at least, without suspicion of a crime. While condoling with her husband on the loss of his trustiest friend, she could now urge the necessity of seeking aid from an active and tried associate, and represent that by the union of her eldest son with his own twice-widowed daughter, he might reconcile the claims of blood with the exigencies of the public weal. Tiberius was, indeed, already married to Vipsania, the daughter of Agrippa by a former consort, and to her he seems to have felt a strong and genuine attachment.[1] Some struggle there may have been in his mind between feeling and ambition, but the demands of Augustus and the importunities of his mother, whose influence over him was at all times overwhelming, silenced every scruple. The youngest of Agrippa's children had not yet seen the light when the mother was betrothed to her third husband. But the Pannonians had resumed their arms on the news of their conqueror's death; and in the decent interval which was yet to elapse before the marriage could be completed, Tiberius was directed to conduct a fresh campaign against these inveterate enemies.[2]

Tiberius betrothed to Julia and despatched before marriage to Pannonia. A. U. 742. B. C. 12.

The elder of the emperor's stepsons is destined to occupy a large space on our canvass, and it will be well to take this opportunity of presenting ourselves with a sketch of his figure and character, as they appeared to his countrymen in the earlier stages of his career. If we may trust the testimony of a noble sitting statue, discovered

Figure and character of Tiberius in early life.

[1] Suet. *Tib.* 7.: "Non sine magno angore animi, quum et Agrippinæ (Vipsaniæ) consuetudine teneretur, et Juliæ mores improbaret."

[2] Vell. ii. 96.: "Mors deinde Agrippæ. . . . admovit propius Neronem Cæsari: quippe filia ejus Julia, quæ fuerat Agrippæ nupta, Neroni nupsit. Subinde bellum Pannonicum," &c. Comp. Dion, liv. 31., who speaks of the emperor's reluctance: Τιβέριον καὶ ἄκων προσείλετο. The campaign of Tiberius took place in the summer of this year (A. U. 742).

in modern times at Piperno, the ancient Privernum, near Terracina, and now lodged in the gallery of the Vatican[1], which has been pronounced to be a genuine representation of Tiberius, we must believe that both in face and figure he was eminently handsome, his body and limbs developed in the most admirable proportions, and his countenance regular, animated, and expressive. In accordance with this description the biographer of the Cæsars assures us that he was tall and big of bone, with ample chest and shoulders; it is added that he was left-handed, and such was the firmness of his joints, that he could drive, it is said, his extended finger through a sound apple, and draw blood from a slave's head with a fillip. He was fair in complexion, and the abundance of hair at the back of his head, which he suffered to fall over his shoulders, was reputed to be characteristic of the Claudian family.[2] The statue, above mentioned, preserves something of a sinister expression in the mouth and eyes; the glance is unquiet and scowling, but it is not impossible that this may be owing to a peculiarity of vision, which enabled him, it is said, to see clearly in twilight on first awaking, though this power did not continue more than a few minutes.[3] His gait, we are told, was ungraceful, his head being generally thrown stiffly backward. He was habitually grave and silent, and when he condescended to address his attendants, his words were few, slow, and measured, which gave an unfavourable impression of his temper. Augustus, who did not fail to notice this demeanour,

[1] Bunsen's *Rom*, ii. 2. 69. (account of the Museo Chiaramonti in the Vatican): 192. "Sitzende statue des Tiberius, von kolossaler Grösse, gefunden zu Piperno im Jahre 1796. Neu ist der rechte Arm, die linke Hand, der rechte Fuss und der vordere Theil des linken." I have described it myself, I fear imperfectly, from personal recollection. There is another well-known statue of Tiberius in the Louvre.

[2] Suet. *Tib.* 68.

[3] Suet. *l. c.*; Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xi. 37.; Dion, lvii. 2.

and was feelingly alive to the policy of conciliation, excused it as a fault of manner, rather than of disposition. Pride and reserve, indeed, were the well-known qualities of the Claudii, and in many chiefs of the house they had been known to issue in a gloomy ferocity, nearly allied, at least, to madness.[1] If Tiberius inherited any seeds of this fatal disposition, no atmosphere could be more adapted to develope them than that of a precarious and upstart court. Surrounded by secret dangers, dubious of his own position, with a different part to act to every creature about him, impelled to suspicion of his nearest attendants and distrust of his dearest kinsmen, with a master and patron exacting from him the strictest obedience, but requiring at the same time the most vigorous action, conscious, finally, that his mother, his only ally, was using him for her own ambitious projects rather than devoting her influence to his real advantage, how little chance could he have of escaping the doom of his race? Nor do we know how early he began to indulge in the vicious gratifications, to which, at a later period at least, he was supposed to have abandoned himself without restraint, and which, if truly ascribed to him, must undoubtedly have tended to precipitate any natural proneness to mental alienation. Against all these evil influences might be set the consummate education he enjoyed in common with the nobles of his time, combining the grace and strength of scholarship with a practical training in affairs.[2] His deep feeling for his wife Vipsania,

[1] Mr. Landor, in his dialogue "Tiberius and Vipsania," has suggested that a taint of madness was hereditary in the Claudian blood, and refers to the excessive pride and perverse licentiousness of some of the name in earlier Roman history. But we must not lay too much stress on this, for there were many families of the Claudian gens, and the Neros had formed a distinct race for some centuries.

[2] In his youth he was nicknamed "Old Tiberius," for his precocious discretion. Philo Judæus, *Leg. ad Caium*, 23.: *οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔτι νέος ὢν ὁ πρεσβύτης ἐλέγετο, δι' αἰδῶ τὴν περὶ τὴν ἀγχίνοιαν.*

when required against his will to part from her, commands our sympathy and respect. Some time after the divorce, on casually meeting her, he betrayed, we are told, so much emotion, that the politicians who watched him at every moment found it necessary to prevent another interview.[1] Meanwhile, the wretched Julia, whose bridal torch had twice been lit at the pyre of a deceased husband, indemnified herself for the laceration of whatever delicacy she may have once possessed by licentious indulgences, and outraged the prudery of Tiberius, a man of antique austerity in pronouncing, at least, upon the vices of Roman matrons.[2]

Character of Drusus.

Of the younger brother, Drusus, we are not in a condition to present so complete a portrait, whether physical or moral. Though he has met with at least one fluent flatterer, who has sung his praises through a courtly panegyric of five hundred verses, there is no trait of individual character or feature to be drawn from them, except it be a hint that his qualities of feeling and genius were lodged in a form of ample proportions.[3] We learn indeed from other sources that the disposition of the younger Nero was gentle, his manners courteous and popular, so that both citizens and soldiers might forget in his presence the prince of an imperial family. Hence perhaps the rumour, which obtained currency at a later period, that he was not indisposed, if ever he attained to power, to restore the liberties of the Ro-

[1] Suet. *Tib.* 7.: "Sed Agrippinam (Vipsaniam) et abegisse post divortium doluit; et semel omnino ex occursu visam adeo contentis et tumentibus oculis prosecutus est, ut custoditum sit ne unquam in conspectum ejus postea veniret."

[2] Suet. *l. c.*: "Quum. . . . Juliæ mores improbaret, ut quam sensisset sui quoque sub priore marito appetentem, quod sane etiam vulgo existimabatur."

[3] See the *Consol. ad. Liv.* ascribed to Pedo Albinovanus, 262.:

"Pectoraque ingenii magna capaxque domus."

man people.[1] It was asserted that he had actually avowed such an intention to his brother. This fond rumour may indeed be justly consigned to the same limbo of popular imaginations in which we must bury the counsels ascribed to Agrippa; though it is more credible that such advice should be hazarded by the prop and champion of the imperial power, than by the youthful aspirant to public honours, whose interests and even life depended on the confidence reposed in him by his step-father. If any such generous anticipations reached the ears of Augustus, —and Tiberius, we are assured, himself denounced them[2],—we should hardly hear, as the constant tradition of the Romans, that Drusus was the favourite, and so manifestly preferred to his elder brother, that he was surmised to be the emperor's actual son.[3] On the whole, it must be allowed that the character we have received of Drusus depends on too uncertain testimonies to build any hypothesis upon it; otherwise we might readily fancy him heir by blood to the gallant disposition of a Julius, while Tiberius displayed in every feature the harsher lineaments of the Claudian house.[4]

Such were the two pillars of the imperial throne, on which, during the minority at least of his immediate descendants, the hopes of Augustus seemed now to rest. He required of both an entire devotion to his interests and those of the state; he demanded of both the sacrifice of ease and

Drusus despatched to Gaul.

[1] Suet. *Claud.* 1. Tac. *Ann.* i. 33.: "Credebaturque, si rerum potitus foret, libertatem redditurus." Comp. ii. 82. It must be remarked that the praises of Drusus were all posterior to his premature death, and might in some cases be stimulated by the general hatred towards the brother who survived him.

[2] Suet. *Tib.* 50.; *Claud.* 1. Hoeck very reasonably discredits this anecdote: *Roem. Gesch.* i. 2. 14.

[3] Suetonius notices, but only to discredit it, a rumour that Augustus caused Drusus to be poisoned out of jealousy at his republican sentiments.

[4] Tac. *Ann.* i. 4.: "Vetere atque insita Claudiæ familiæ superbia."

comfort, retaining them in distant provinces and on savage frontiers, at the head of his armies, far from the pleasures of the capital, and the temptations it afforded to unpopular arrogance. At a distance, he well knew, their martial bearing and exploits would secure them the favour of the people, which they might easily forfeit in closer intercourse with them. Accordingly, while Tiberius was sent to quell the insurrection in Pannonia, Drusus had been already charged with the administration of the Gaulish provinces on the emperor's departure to Rome.[1] The nations beyond the Alps had not yet learned resignation to the exactions of the Roman officials; the impunity accorded, as they believed, to their oppressor Licinus rankled in their bosoms[2]; and the inquisition into their means, together with the fiscal exactions consequent upon it, which resulted from the census now held at Lugdunum, must have fanned the flame of their discontent. The Germans, ever watching their opportunity, were preparing again to cross the Rhine when Drusus invited his subjects to display their loyalty to Augustus by erecting an altar at the confluence of the Rhone and Saone. Sixty of the Gaulish communities united in this work of flattery. It was dedicated to Augustus and Rome conjointly; the names of the sixty states were inscribed upon it; and the colossal statue of the emperor before which it stood was surrounded by smaller figures representing so many abstract nationalities.[3] On the first day of the month of August

Altar of Augustus and Rome at Lugdunum.

[1] Dion, liv. 25.

[2] The story of the enterprise of a noble Gaul who proposed to assassinate Augustus in his passage through the Alps, refers, perhaps, to the odium this transaction excited. Suet. *Oct.* 79.: "Vultu erat adeo tranquillo serenoque, ut quidam a primoribus Galliarum confessus sit inter suos, eo se inhibitum ac remollitum quominus, ut destinarat, in transitu Alpium per simulationem colloquii propius admissus, in præcipitium impelleret."

[3] Strabo, iv. 3. p. 192., following Groskurd's reading, which seems

Drusus consecrated this tribute to the majesty of the empire, and instituted at the same time a festival, which continued to be annually solemnized on the spot with shows and music for several centuries. To impress a still more imposing character on the ceremony, he invited the chiefs of every state to attend it, and prevailed on a noble Æduan to accept the office of pontiff, assisted by a ministry of Gaulish flamens.[1] The worship of Cæsar Augustus, thus inaugurated in the province, became extended throughout it, and at one place at least Livia Augusta was associated in divine honours with her husband.[2] It was necessary to confront the religious principle of the Druids by another equally imposing; and the genius of the mighty emperor and the fortune of the all-conquering Republic might exercise on the imagination of the cowering Gauls no less potent a spell than the blast of Circius and the thunders of Taranis.

Roman fortresses on the Rhine.

Such were the politic measures of Drusus to quell disaffection in his rear, while occupied in the task of chastising the Germans, and retorting on their own soil their aggressions upon the territories of Rome. The Rhine we are used to consider as the permanent boundary of the great southern empire; and that such for some centuries it really

necessary for the sense. Hoeck, i. 2. 18. This may have suggested the allegorical figures of the French cities which surround the obelisk and fountains on the Place de la Concorde at Paris.

[1] Liv. *Epit.* cxxxvii.: "Ara D. Cæsari ad confluentem Araris et Rhodani dedicata, sacerdote C. Julio Vercundaridubio Æduo." Supposing the epitomist to have found Divus Cæsar in his copy of the original, this has been thought to prove that Livy had not completed his work till the reign of Tiberius. The altar was undoubtedly dedicated to Augustus during his lifetime, not to the deceased Julius See Suet. *Claud.* 2.; Dion, liv. 32. Gruter, *Inscr.* p. 13.: "Sacerdos Rom. et Aug. ad aram ad confluentes." Thierry, *Gaulois*, iii. 266., refers to other inscriptions.

[2] Thus we read "Dea Augusta Vocontiorum: Liviæ Aug. Deæ munic." Inscriptions cited by Thierry. Luc. in Dauphiné is Lucus Augusti; Die is Dea Augusta.

was, is attested by the chain of fortified posts along its left bank, which defended the passage of the river from the spot where it escaped from the mountains of Helvetia to its mouth in the northern ocean. These fortresses have since grown for the most part into considerable towns: Basel, Strasburg, Speyer, Worms, Mainz, Bingen, Coblenz, Andernach, Bonn, Köln, Neuss, Nimeguen, and Leyden are all probably sprung from foundations laid not later than the reign of Augustus.[1] The left bank of the Rhine has always been the richer of the two, and has shown accordingly the greater anxiety to provide for its security. The German side of the river has never been fortified so jealously as the Gaulish. But though the Romans seem thus early impressed with a presentiment that they had here reached the natural limits of their conquests, there was a time when, under the guidance of the impetuous youth who now commanded their legions, they dreamed of extending their sway into the heart of Germany, and reducing it to the same subjection as Gaul and Spain. The head-quarters of their military force in these regions were now removed from the Somme or Scheldt, where they had been fixed by Cæsar, and transplanted to the Rhine. Detachments of troops were posted in close communication with one another at all the stations above mentioned, but the two provinces of the first and second Germany, divided by the Moselle, had each its separate military establishment, its proper prætorium and legatus.

On the Danube.

At the same time the limits of the empire had been permanently advanced in another quarter to the Danube. The victories of Tiberius over the Vindelici in the mountains had been followed by the advance of his successor Piso through the plains

[1] The establishment of these fortresses, fifty in number, is ascribed to Drusus. Florus, iv. 12.

which intervene between them and the river, by the foundation of the colony of Augusta[1], the construction of military roads, connecting it both with Italy and Gaul, and the establishment of fortified posts along the course of the stream. Here again the limits of Roman dominion are marked by the position of the most ancient stations on the Roman, that is, the southern bank of the river. The sites of Regensburg, Passau, Linz, Vienna, and the little village of Hainburg, formerly Carnuntum, all sloping towards the ungenial north, were adopted for purposes of defence. But between the Rhine and the Upper Danube there intervenes a triangular tract of land, the apex of which touches the confines of Switzerland at Basel; thus separating, as with an enormous wedge, the provinces of Gaul and Vindelicia, and presenting at its base no natural line of defence from one river to the other. This tract was, however, occupied for the most part by forests, and if it broke the line of the Roman defences, it might at least be considered impenetrable to an enemy. Abandoned by the warlike and predatory tribes of Germany, it was seized by wandering immigrants from Gaul, many of them Roman adventurers, before whom the original inhabitants, the Marcomanni or men of the frontier, seem to have retreated eastward beyond the Hercynian forest. The intruders claimed or solicited Roman protection, and offered in return a tribute from the produce of their soil, whence the district itself came to be known by the title of the Agri Decumates, or Tithed Land.[2] It was not, however,

The Agri Decumates.

[1] Augusta Vindelicorum is the modern Augsburg, founded, it may be supposed, about the year 740, after the conquest of Rhætia by Drusus. Tac. *Germ.* 41.: "Splendidissima Rhætiæ provinciæ colonia." The Itineraries represent it as the centre of the roads from Verona, Sirmium, and Treveri.

[2] Tacitus, *Germ.* 29., writing a century later: "Non numeraverim inter Germaniæ populos, quanquam trans Rhenum Danubiumque consederint, eos qui Decumates agros exercent. Levissimus quisque

officially connected with any province of the empire, nor was any attempt made to provide for its permanent security, till a period much later than that on which we are now engaged.' But as an irregular outpost of the Roman dominions it exercised considerable influence upon the neighbouring barbarians, in familiarizing them with the features of southern civilization.

Drusus prepares to invade Germany.

When he had brought the chief men of the various states of Gaul together on pretence of paying divine honours to the emperor, Drusus required them to furnish him with means for his projected invasion of Germany. The tribes first destined for chastisement were the Usipetes and Tenctheri, whose seats were on the Lippe, and the Sigambri between the Sieg and Lahn. Behind these lay the Cherusci on the Ems and Weser, and the Chauci on the marshy plains which stretch towards the ocean, both formidable for their power and influence, against whom he meditated hostilities at a later period. South of the Lahn the range of the Taunus was occupied by the Chatti, who extended eastward to the Hercynian forest in the heart of Germany, and were perhaps a main portion of the people whom Cæsar knew by the more general appellation of Suevi. While penetrating to the Ems and Weser the Roman general would require to secure his right flank by the reduction of this tribe also; so that six nations, the flower of the Germans in the north, were included in the young Cæsar's grand scheme of conquest Augustus had himself refrained from advancing the conquests of the empire in this direction, and Agrippa had speedily withdrawn from the right bank of the Rhine, and acquiesced in his master's policy. But the ardour of his favourite seems now to have prevailed over the

Gallorum, et inopia audax dubiæ possessionis solum occupavere Mox limite acto, promotisque præsidiis, sinus Imperii, et pars provinciæ habetur."

emperor's accustomed moderation. He felt, perhaps, the importance of allowing the princes of his family to substantiate by popular exploits the claims he advanced in their behalf: and while one was employed in the reduction of Pannonia, to the other he opened a still wider field of ambition in the untrodden plains of central Europe.

On reaching the Rhine in the spring of 742, Drusus lost not a moment in throwing his army across it, and chasing the Usipetes to their strongholds. But this incursion was meant only as a feint to occupy the attention of the enemy, or to keep his own soldiers employed, while he was himself intently engaged in preparing for a bolder and more important enterprise. He proposed to carry his arms against the Chauci and Cherusci; but he was anxious to avoid the risks and hardships of a march through the forests of Germany, and preferred to embark his legions on the Rhine, and transport them along the shores of the ocean to the mouth of the Ems. The first obstacle to this novel and daring operation had been removed, under his direction, by cutting a communication from the Rhine to the Lake Flevus, or Zuyder Zee; and the channel which Drusus opened for this purpose still continues to discharge a large portion of the waters of the river.[1] A flotilla adapted for cruising in the shallows of the North Sea was speedily equipped in the arsenals

Expeditions by sea and land. A. U. 742. B. C. 12.

[1] This channel is generally described as originally a canal from the Rhine at Arnheim to the Yssel, a small river flowing into the Zuyder Zee, which now gives its name to this eastern branch. It would be more correct to say that the canal connected the Yssel, a stream flowing into the Rhine, with the Vecht, which emptied itself into the lake. The communication thus opened, the weight of the Rhine-stream turned the waters of the Yssel into the Vecht, and carried them along with it into the ocean. Upon this subject, and the changes which have taken place in the lake Flevus, partly from irruptions of the sea, partly also, perhaps, from the increased volume of river-water thus poured into it, see Von Hoff, *Gesch. der Erd oberfläche*, I. 253. foll.

on the river side,[1] and as the season for operations advanced, the legions were withdrawn from the districts they had occupied beyond the Rhine, and embarked for a more distant and extraordinary service. The Frisii, who inhabited the shores of the lake, were converted, by force or persuasion, into allies for the occasion. Drusus felt the necessity of securing their assistance in his navigation, or their succour in case of a reverse. Unpractised as the Romans were in stemming the ocean tides and currents, they met with serious disasters in rounding the coast of Friesland and Groningen, and when cast at length by the winds and waves on its sandy downs, gladly put themselves under the guidance of a Frisian escort, and made the best of their way home across the continent. The approach of winter furnished an excuse for this hasty and inglorious retreat. The invaders had ascertained the practicability, if favoured by the weather, of transporting their cumbrous armaments with ease and speed to the point they wished to reach, and not disheartened by the casual failure of their first attempt, they treasured up the experience they had gained for a future occasion.[2]

Second campaign. A. U. 743. B. C. 11.

Nevertheless, Drusus determined the next year to change his mode of proceeding, and return to the ordinary tactics of Roman invasion. Entering again the territories of the Usipetes and Tenctheri, he crossed them without opposition, the Germans not venturing to offer resist-

[1] We gather from a corrupt passage in Florus (iv. 12.), that Bonna (Bonn) was made a naval station, and apparently connected by a bridge with a town on the opposite bank. See Art. Gesonia, in Smith's *Dict. Anc. Geogr.*

[2] This expedition was celebrated in an heroic poem by Pedo Albinovanus. A few of his lines have been preserved by Seneca, *Suasor*, 1. The subject furnished some obvious commonplaces for the rhetorical taste which was advancing with rapid strides: such as,

"Quo ferimur? ruit ipse dies, orbemque relictum
Ultima perpetuis claudit natura tenebris."

ance in the field, He threw a bridge across the Lippe, from the right, as it would appear, to the left bank, and again struck boldly forwards, traversing the country of the Cherusci, the modern Paderborn and Detmold, till he reached the banks of the Weser.[1] The strength of the Sigambrian nation, the most bold and warlike in that part of Germany, would have been brought to oppose him, but for the timely defection of the Chatti from the league of the barbarians, which called off the force of that people in another direction. But the Germans had already learnt the imprudence of meeting their invaders in open combat. They retired steadily before them, or hovered assiduously on their flanks, trusting to the difficulty of the route, the inclemency of the climate, and the scarceness of provisions, to harass their advance, and ultimately turn them back. All these circumstances now conspired to baffle and discourage the Roman leader. Not venturing to place the Weser in his rear, he assured his soldiers that inauspicious omens forbade the further progress of their arms, and gave orders for the retreat. The Germans, who were watching their opportunity, now gradually turned against them, and after annoying them by desultory attacks, at last closed upon them in a narrow gorge of the hills. The danger of the legions was imminent, for, so far removed from succour, no slight or partial success would have availed to disentangle them. But the enemy, confident of a complete victory, and regardless of all discipline and discretion, rushed upon them without concert or precaution; and when re-

[1] Dion, liv. 33.: *τόν τε Ῥῆνον ἐπεραιώθη, καὶ τοὺς Οὐσιπέτας κατεστρέψατο· τόν τε Λουπίαν ἔζευξε, καὶ ἐς τὴν τῶν Συγάμβρων ἐνέβαλε, καὶ δι' αὐτῆς καὶ ἐς τὴν Χερουσκίδα προεχώρησε, μέχρι τοῦ Οὐϊσούργου.* It would seem to have been Dion's idea, if he had any distinct views on the matter, that Drusus crossed the Rhine north of the Lippe, again crossed the Lippe from the right to the left bank, and swept with a circuitous route through the country of the Sigambri, into that of the Cherusci.

ceived with coolness, and repelled with firm resolution, broke their ranks, and fled with precipitation. Once more the Romans could move freely; the Germans did not again attempt to close with them; and the annoyance of their flying attacks was cheerfully borne by men who had just thrown off the whole weight of their onslaught. Drusus halted on his retreat to erect a fortress at a spot on the Lippe which bore the name of Aliso.[1] In the course of the same summer, but not, as it would seem, in connexion with this campaign, he established another Roman outpost in the country of the Chatti.[2] These sufficed for tokens of victory, and the emperor obtained for him the triumphal insignia, with the honour of an ovation, which he was now summoned to Rome to celebrate. But the title of imperator, with which his soldiers saluted him, he was not permitted to accept.

Tiberius in Pannonia. A. U. 742, 743.

The conduct of the war in Pannonia, which lay nearer to Italy than the German frontier, may have allowed Tiberius to return to Rome after the campaign of 742, and fulfil his engagement of marriage with Julia at the commencement of the following year. But his retirement lasted only during the season of military inaction. In the spring of 743 he again crossed the Alps, and renewed his operations against the half-conquered barbarians. This campaign was not unproductive of successes, for which the young prince was suffered, on his second return, in the winter, to enjoy the same distinctions as were also awarded to his brother, and Augustus had the satisfaction of exhibiting both his stepsons to the people in the character of national

[1] Dion, *l. c.* The spot has been supposed to be at Hamm, where the Lippe is joined by the Alse, or at Elsen, where the Alme falls into it, about two miles from Paderborn. The one is thirty, the other about fifty miles east of the Rhine.

[2] This fortification is said to have been on the Rhine (Dion, *l. c.*). It was probably between the Lahn and the Mayn.

heroes.[1] At this moment, however, the decease of Octavia, the darling of the last generation of citizens, snapped another link which connected the Empire with the Republic.[2] Her body was consigned to the appointed resting place of the Julian family, after the honours of a public funeral, at which orations were delivered over it by Drusus and by Augustus himself.[3] She died at the age of fifty-four, being about two years older than her brother. Her praises have been already celebrated in this work, and her noble qualities are now once more referred to, only to notice the respect which the Romans could pay to female virtue, while their customs condemned it for the most part to perpetual nonage and insignificance. This was perhaps the first instance of a woman being made the subject of a national solemnity at Rome; it may be questioned, however, whether, except in the case of a sovereign, even the more chivalrous feelings of modern times have ever prompted so extraordinary a distinction.

Death of Octavia. A. U. 743. B. C. 11.

The death of Octavia, grievous as it undoubtedly was to her brother, was felt by him as a private rather than a public loss. It does not appear that he ever consulted her on affairs of state; and since the death of her son Marcellus, she had become more than ever estranged from public life. His own popularity, supported by the merits of the young Neros, was still advancing. On the Ka-

Continued popularity of Augustus.

[1] Dion, liv. 34.; Vell. ii. 96. Dalmatia, which had joined the Pannonians, was now made an imperial province, and the senate received in exchange the peaceful regions of Cyprus and the Narbonensis.

[2] Octavia died, according to Fischer (*Zeittafeln*), in November or December of 743.

[3] Drusus may have been selected for this office from his closer connexion with the deceased. He was married to Antonia, daughter of the triumvir, and sister of Julius Antonius, who was himself married to the elder Marcella, a daughter of Octavia. The body was borne by both Tiberius and Drusus. Suet. *Oct.* 61., places her

lends of the ensuing January, the noblest citizens pressed forward with increasing alacrity to offer him the customary presents at the commencement of the new year. Such compliments he was always proud to receive, but he was careful, it is said, to return them with interest. He refused, however, to accept the sums which it was now the fashion to subscribe for the erection of statues of himself, and directed that they should be applied instead to the glory of the national divinities. The people invented another way of expressing their devotion to him, by throwing each a piece of money, on a stated day, into the Curtian lake in the Forum, as an offering for his safety.[1] At this time Augustus began his strange custom of sitting one day in every year in the guise of a mendicant at his own palace-gate, and accepting the petty coins which passers-by placed in his hand. Of his motive in this practice no certain account could be given; but it seems to have had its origin in superstitious feeling, and was generally ascribed to the warning of an oracle or a dream.[2]

Third campaign of Drusus in Germany, and his death. A. U. 745. B. C. 9.

Early in the year 744, Augustus once more quitted his capital to visit Gaul; not, indeed, with the purpose of urging by his nearer approach the conquest of the German tribes, for his views were still pacific, and he was anxious to shut the temple of Janus, for which he had actually issued orders, when the report of fresh disturbances on the Danube compelled him to revoke them. He charged Tiberius to defend Pannonia from

death somewhat later, but the historian, who follows the order of time, is undoubtedly correct.

[1] Suet. *Oct.* 57.: "Omnes ordines in lacum Curtii quotannis ex voto pro salute ejus stipem jaciebant." This must be regarded as a conventional expression. The coin was placed, perhaps, on an altar which stood over the sacred spot. Ovid, *Fast.* vi. 403. says,

"Curtius ille lacus, *siccas qui sustinet aras*,
Nunc solida est tellus, sed lacus ante fuit."

[2] Dion, liv. 35.; but he doubts the story.

an irruption of Dacians; but Drusus, at the same time, pleaded for another expedition beyond the Rhine, and the emperor yielded, perhaps reluctantly, to his instances. In 745 Drusus became consul; nevertheless he resumed the command of the legions, and directed his march through the territory of the Chatti, in which, as we have seen, he had provided already a basis for future operations. His views of conquest had now expanded more widely than ever, and the inexperience of his new enemies, who ventured to oppose his advance, and allowed him to gain some partial successes, inspired him with increased confidence. Beyond the Chatti, he reached the habitations of the Suevi; then, turning northward, he threw himself once more upon the flanks of the Cherusci, and, crossing the Weser, penetrated the Hercynian forest as far as the Elbe, the central river of the North. The Cherusci, more prudent than their southern neighbours, had declined to meet him in arms, and the advancing legions found themselves left without a visible enemy in the depths of the wilderness. Mindful of the disasters which had clouded his former retreat, Drusus might now be anxious for an excuse to turn the heads of his columns. It would have been easy to appeal to some imaginary omens; but the portent which is related does not seem, from its character, to have been a Roman invention. A woman, it was affirmed, of more than mortal stature, here crossed his path, addressing him by name, rebuking his ambition, and announcing a fatal termination to his career.[1] The invaders hastily erected a trophy on

[1] Some writers resolve this supposed apparition into the actual appearance of a Druidess. Others connect it with an alleged German superstition, on which Reimar (on Dion *in loc.*) gives a remarkable instance: "Augustæ Vindelicorum adhuc visitur in turri Minoritarum imago mulieris fanaticæ equo vectæ, quæ Attilæ pergenti ex Italia in Pannoniam sese furibunda objecit, et ter terribili voce acclamavit, Retro, Attila!" The story, I have little doubt, was a later fabrication. There is no allusion to it, or to portents of any kind, in the *Consol. ad Liviam.*

the banks of the river, and retraced their steps still without encountering a human foe. But before they reached the Rhine, the prediction of the spectre met with its fulfilment. Drusus fell from his horse, and the injuries he received terminated, after thirty days' suffering, in his death.[1] The camp in which he lingered, under the protection of the Roman outposts, obtained from this disaster the name of Scelerata, or the Accursed. The body was borne along with military pomp. At Moguntiacum, where the army may have crossed the Rhine, a monument was erected in its honour[2]; but it was not suffered to repose there. Augustus, who was still at Lugdunum when the news of his favourite's illness arrived, summoned Tiberius to attend his brother's couch, and when his death was subsequently announced, charged him to convey the remains to Rome, which he did, preceding it himself on foot. The emperor, who had now returned to Italy, received the mournful cavalcade at Ticinum in the depth of winter. Accompanying the body in person to the city, he pronounced over it a funeral oration; and after cremation, the ashes were deposited in the imperial mausoleum.[3] The youthful hero, baffled in his enterprises, and cut

[1] Dion, lv. 1, 2.; Suet. *Claud.* 1.; Liv. *Epit.* cxl. (more properly cxlii.). With this event the history of Livy terminated, A. U. 745. Drusus was now in his thirtieth year. Vell. ii. 97.

[2] Eutrop. vii. 13. Games and military spectacles continued to be exhibited here on the anniversary of Drusus's death. An altar had been already raised to his honour on the banks of the Lippe. Tac. *Ann.* ii. 7. The soldiers began now to regard themselves as a distinct people, with rites and heroes of their own. Augustus required them to surrender the body of their beloved chief, as a matter of discipline. Senec. *Cons. ad Polyb.* 34.: "Modum tamen lugendi non sibi tantum sed etiam aliis fecit, ac totum exercitum, non solum mæstum sed etiam attonitum, *corpus Drusi sibi vindicantem*, ad morem Romani luctus redegit, indicavitque non militandi tantum disciplinam esse servandam, sed etiam dolendi."

[3] Suet. *Claud.* 1. Augustus further composed an epitaph for the young Cæsar, and wrote a memoir of his life.

off so prematurely in his career, was more than ordinarily fortunate in the honours accorded to his memory. The regrets of his countrymen were both loud and enduring; alone of all Roman warriors he received a posthumous title to commemorate his successes; the appellation of Germanicus, which his son rendered afterwards still more illustrious, became the dearest, as it was the last, of the heroic names of Rome. The senate decreed him a triumphal arch, which still exists, for a triumph scarcely earned, and never consummated[1]; and the elegant though feeble verses of a courtly poet continue still to attest his virtues, or at least the popular belief in them.[2]

Permanent effects of the campaigns of Drusus.

While, however, we remark the signal failure of the mighty preparations Drusus had made for a vast and enduring conquest, we must not overlook the importance of their actual results. If the Germans were neither reduced to subjection, nor even overthrown in any decisive engagement, as the Romans vainly pretended, yet their spirit of aggression was finally checked; and from henceforth for many generations they were fully occupied with the task of defending themselves.[3] The Chatti and Marcomanni in the south were thoroughly impressed with a sense of Roman invincibility; the Marcomanni even quitted their homes in Suabia, to seek new abodes beyond the Hercynian forest[4]; while the Chatti resigned themselves to the intrusion of Roman settlers within their confines,

[1] Suet. *l. c.*: "Marmoreum arcum cum tropæo Appia via." This arch is, with the exception of the Pantheon, the most perfect existing monument of Augustan architecture. It is heavy, plain, and narrow, with all the dignified but stern simplicity which belongs to the character of its age.

[2] See the *Consolatio* ascribed to Pedo Albinovanus.

[3] Vell. ii. 107.: "Ex magna parte domitorem Germaniæ." Flor. iv. 12.: "Germani victi magis quam domiti erant." *Cons. ad Liv.* 457.: "Ignoti victor Germanicus orbis."

[4] Strabo, vii. 2. p. 290.

and gradually conformed to the example of Gaulish civilization. In the north the invaders planted themselves strongly in defensible positions, and extended their inroads every year into the territories of the Sigambri and Cherusci, till the banks of the Ems and Lippe assumed almost the appearance of a Roman province, administered by a Roman proconsul.[1]

Progress of the Roman arms in Pannonia, Thrace and Mœsia.

To achieve the work interrupted by the death of Drusus, his brother Tiberius was summoned once more to arms. He had quitted Pannonia to attend the funeral procession, but his task in that province had already been completed by a solid victory.[2] In quelling the insurrection of the native tribes, assisted by a revolt of the Dalmatians, he had displayed activity and skill, and might already be esteemed the most consummate captain of his day. But before we accompany Tiberius to the Rhine, we must cast our eyes for a moment on another quarter, the repose of which was affected by the wars in which he had been thus employed. The districts of Thrace and Mœsia on the Lower Danube were not too distant from Pannonia to escape the contagion of its spirit of independence. While the princes who were suffered to govern nominally in these countries maintained the fidelity to Rome which was necessary for their existence, the people themselves were little influenced by such politic considerations. The signal of defiance was raised by a chief of the Bessi named Vologesus, a priest of the Thracian Dionysus, to whose worship the people were fanatically devoted. Inflamed with passionate superstition, they rose against the king Rhascuporis, a

[1] Compare the praise of Stilicho, four centuries later, in the pleasing verses of Claudian, xxi. 218. foll.:

> "Ut Salius jam rura colat, flexosque Sigambri
> In falcem curvent gladios, geminasque viator
> Cum videat ripas, quæ sit Romana requirat," &c.

[2] Dion, lv. 2.

loyal servant of the empire, overthrew him in battle, and slew him. Rhæmetalces, his uncle, was driven into the Chersonese, and the whole nation was at once arrayed in arms against the foreigner and all who sided with him. The Romans conducted themselves with ability and resolution. L. Piso, who commanded in Pamphylia, was summoned from the other side of the Hellespont to make head against the insurgents. For three years he continued to wage war against them from Illyricum to the shores of the Euxine, and at the close of his third campaign he could declare that order was restored and the spirit of revolt extinguished. The high honours awarded him by the emperor and senate attest the importance of the occasion and the merit of his services.[1]

With the year 746, Augustus commenced a third decennial term of his imperium, which seems to have been now renewed as a matter of course, although he pleaded again his reluctance to accept it.[2] He still regarded the position of his Gaulish provinces with anxiety; so much so that, while he invited Tiberius to complete his brother's undertakings, he proposed to take up his own residence once more at Lugdunum, the keystone of the great arch of the Rheno-Danubian fortifications, and superintend on the spot the consolidation of his empire in the north. This was now the only quarter in which he prosecuted offensive warfare; nevertheless, the common notion of the pacific policy of Augustus is far from correct. Though he was averse from the bold adventures in which the great captains of Rome perilled their own lives and the interests of the republic, and though no brilliant achievements have given a martial colour

Augustus assumes again the imperial power. A. U. 746. B. C. 8.

[1] Dion, liv. 34.; Vell. ii. 98.; Flor. iv. 12. 17. (A. U. 741—743).

[2] Dion, lv. 6.: *μετὰ δὲ δὴ ταῦτα τήν τε ἡγεμονείαν, καίπερ ἀφιεὶς ὡς ἔλεγεν, ἐπειδὴ τὰ δέκα ἔτη τὰ δεύτερα ἐξεληλύθει, ἄκων δῆθεν αὖθις ὑπέστη.*

to his long administration, there were in fact few epochs in which the progress of Roman conquest was more unremitting.[1] Glancing from the Baltic to the Black Sea, his vigilant eye marked every point on which the empire was assailable in the north; and though not successful, as we shall see, in narrowing its exposed frontier to the tract between the Vistula and the Dniester, as he may once have contemplated, he completed the line of its defences along the Rhine and Danube, and advanced the bulwarks of Italy a month's march beyond the Alps.

Tiberius crossed the Rhine; but no sooner had he entered the German territories, than the tribes on the frontier, with the exception of the Sigambri, sent envoys with offers of submission. He directed them to seek the emperor in person at Lugdunum; but Augustus, who saw, as he thought, an opportunity for effecting a great conquest without further risk, refused to grant any terms unless the Sigambri combined in solicitation with them. Thereupon this people also sent some chiefs to join the deputation; and their unscrupulous assailant, having thus got hostages from every state, did not hesitate to retain them in custody, and disperse them as prisoners among his fortresses. Many of the captives thus ill treated, slew themselves in their indignation; but their countrymen, stunned by the blow which deprived them of their best leaders, seem for a moment to have submitted in silence. Augustus gloried without shame in the happy result of a stroke in which his people, as he well knew, would equally exult. He allowed the successes of a bloodless and treacherous campaign

Tiberius crosses the Rhine. A. U. 746. B.C. 8.

[1] Compare, for the policy of Augustus, the statement of Aurelius Victor, *Epit.* 1.: "Arma nisi majoris emolumenti causa nunquam movenda esse: ne compendio tenui, jactura gravi, petita victoria, similis sit hamo aureo piscantibus: cujus abrupti amissique detrimentum nullo capturæ lucro pensari potest."

to be magnified with the most extravagant flattery.[1] Though he declined to celebrate a triumph on the occasion, he permitted Tiberius to assume the title of Imperator and to enjoy that honour in his stead. He invested him also, now the second time, with the consulship for the following year.[2] At the same time, he gratified the soldiers with an extraordinary largess, on the pretext of his grandson Caius, then thirteen years of age, having served among them his first campaign. For himself he accepted the glorious prerogative of extending the pomœrium of the city, reserved for such commanders only as had enlarged the limits of the empire. It was at this time also that he directed the month Sextilis, which had proved the most fortunate to him throughout his career, to be called by his own appellation of Augustus.[3]

Tiberius advances again into Germany.

The emperor was already advancing in years when he exhibited this activity in repeatedly visiting a distant province. Since his last dangerous sickness his constitution seems to have acquired fresh strength; and we hear no more of that defect of his physical powers, which we have so often remarked at an earlier period. But in the young and vigorous prince, who aspired to a share in his labours, and the inheritance of his prerogatives, such activity was more naturally required. Tiberius hastened back to Rome to commence his

[1] Vell. ii. 97.: "Moles deinde ejus belli translata in Neronem est."

[2] Tiberius had an ovation A.U. 745; Dion, lv. 2.; Vell. ii. 96. But on this occasion (A.U. 747) he enjoyed the full honours of the triumph, Suet. *Tib.* 9.: "Quas ob res et ovans, et curru, urbem ingressus est." See also Dion, lv. 8., Vell. ii. 97.: "ovans triumphavit," and afterwards; "tum alter triumphus cum altero consulatu ei oblatus est."

[3] Dion, lv. 6.: Cassiodorus reports that, "His consulibus (C. Asinio et C. Marcio, A.U. 746) inter Albim et Rhenum Germani omnes Tiberio Neroni dediti sunt" (Hoeck, i. 2. 33.), but the extension of the administration beyond the Rhine took place a little later.

consulship with the beginning of the year 747; but A.U. 747. B.C. 7. he was allowed only a moment to repose from his military duties, and to discharge the civil functions of his office. Early in the spring he was once more on his route to Gaul, and with the arrival of summer, he had placed himself at the head of the legions, and was engaged in a new expedition against the German tribes. The departure of Augustus had been the signal for renewed disturbances among them, such at least was the pretext put forth for the campaign; but it was evidently the policy of the Romans to seek occasion for successive attacks. Each succeeding advance of the tide of conquest gained some fresh ground; and although the legions retired every autumn within their own lines, they left behind them traces of power not easily obliterated. Tiberius had no extensive plans of conquest; he was satisfied with showing himself to the enemy, and occupying their territory for a few months. He performed, it seems, in this campaign no action worth recording; and having led his troops back to their quarters, returned to Rome before the end of the summer.[1]

The districts nearest the right bank of the Rhine Reasons of the slowness of his progress there. had been utterly exhausted by these repeated invasions, in which the invader swept away every commodity he could carry or drive before him. The further the legions penetrated, the more scanty became the objects of plunder, the more slender the means of subsistence. Accordingly each succeeding campaign became more laborious to the troops, and more expensive to the government. The four expeditions of Drusus had drained the resources of the Gaulish province, and exhausted its arsenals and workshops. This was per-

[1] Dion, lv. 8.: ἐν δὲ τῇ Γερμανίᾳ οὐδὲν ἄξιον μνήμης συνέβη. Fischer, *Roem. Zeitt.* A. U. 747.

haps the main cause of the feebleness of the exertions made by his successor. Tiberius was indeed compelled by the necessities of his position to undertake active operations. The citizens expected their future imperator to maintain by constant warfare his claim to their suffrages; and Augustus, on his part, required him to conform to this expectation. It was not, we may presume, the wish of Tiberius to confine himself to such trifling enterprises. He must have felt the importance of earning a great reputation in the career of conquest which was opened to him, and he chafed perhaps at the want of men, money, and supplies of all kinds. Nor was he unaware, that while he thus relinquished the enjoyment of ease and luxury, he was in fact distrusted by both the prince and the people. The emperor already regarded with pleasing anticipations the progress of his grandsons in popular favour; of whom Caius, the elder, was but fourteen years of age, but had already served a first campaign, and had recently appeared also in a public capacity in the city. During the absence of Tiberius, the young Cæsar had occupied his place by the side of the consul Piso, in ordering the votive games on the emperor's happy return.[1] This ceremony was followed by the inauguration of some works of Agrippa, which that industrious builder had left unfinished. He had commenced the construction of a spacious hall, in which the soldiers were to be assembled to receive their pay. Its roof had a larger span than any other in the world, though the Pantheon was already in existence. At the same time the place of exercise, which Agrippa had added to the field of Mars, was opened for public recreation, though the colonnades which were to surround it, and afterwards formed, with their fresco paintings, its princi-

Introduction of Caius Cæsar to public life.

[1] Dion, lv. 8. (A. U. 747, B. C. 7).

pal charm, were not yet completed. Funeral games were now celebrated in honour of this great national benefactor, in order, no doubt, to conciliate the affections of the people for his children. But whether a Nero or a Cæsar filled at this moment the most space in the eyes of the Romans, it was between the scions of the imperial house that all their interests were divided; the merits of private citizens were cast into the shade, and none of them presumed to step forth and contest the palm of popularity.

Death of Mæcenas.

In this temper of the public mind, the death of Mæcenas, the last statesman whose name and fortunes might remind the Romans of the days of the Republic, caused probably but little notice. This event had occurred at the close of the year 746. For some time previously the people had remarked a coolness between the emperor and the minister he had so long loved and trusted, whose counsels, however, as far as they tended to maintain the show of ancient forms and stay the downward progress of despotism, became less palatable as they could be more easily dispensed with. Some ascribed this decline in favour to no worthier cause than the emperor's passion for Terentia; others asserted that Augustus was disgusted at discovering the minister's weakness in allowing his wife to extort from him a state secret.[1] It is easy to suppose that he was wearied with the freedoms of a friend, who could not forget that they had both started on their adventures together, and exercised the privilege of long and loyal service to rebuke his master's indiscretions with a frankness bordering on rudeness. We may believe that Mæcenas himself became weary of his position, which never had for him the charms which enchain more vulgar ambitions; for he had never sought to rise above the rank of knighthood, and had declined

[1] Senec. *Ep.* 19.; Dion, liv. 19., lvi. 7.

the badges of office, the trabea, fasces, and ivory chair, which still held such sway over the imagination of his countrymen. It may be questioned indeed whether any man is really the happier or the wiser for divesting himself of the common illusions of mankind. Such of the ancients as had no hope of the future, and among them must be numbered the epicurean Mæcenas, found sometimes, in the decline of life, a substitute for such anticipations in a sedate retrospect, and were consoled on the brink of the grave by the persuasion that they had fulfilled their mission. But it was not so with the minister of the rising empire. His last days of sickness were disgraced by an abject clinging to life, long after he had lost all reasonable enjoyment of it.[1] The disgrace of Gallus, the early death of Virgil, the failing health and approaching end of Horace (it is a question whether the minister or his friend survived for a few days only), must have combined with other losses in saddening the latter years of one who was really attached to his friends, and joined with the tastes of a Sybarite some of the happier instincts of humanity. The voluptuousness of his habits was of the most refined and exquisite character, and his manners were, for the time, a model of urbanity, without wanting in genuine kindliness. But the delicacy and fastidiousness of his tastes were heightened by the irritation of a fever which constantly preyed upon him, so that for three years he obtained no natural rest either by day or by night.[2] His only

[1] Seneca, *Ep.* 101., has preserved some well-known lines ascribed to Mæcenas, in illustration of his unworthy shrinking from death:

"Debilem facito manu, Debilem pede, coxa;
Tuber adstrue gibberum, Lubricos quate dentes:
Vita dum superest, bene est: Hanc mihi, vel acuta
Si sedeam cruce, sustine."

[2] Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* vii. 51.: "Quibusdam perpetua febris est, ut C. Mæcenati: eidem triennio supremo nullo horæ momento contigit somnus."

slumbers, it was said, were procured, under the direction of the physician Musa, by the distant sound of falling water, a rumour which may have been suggested by the view of his suburban residence, which rose like an exhalation above the cascades of Tibur.[1]

His constitution exhausted by constant tension of mind.

The demeanour of Mæcenas was remarkable for its apparent ease, which disarmed suspicion, and opened to him the secrets of his adversaries as well as of his friends. It was difficult to believe that a man with the air of an elegant debauchee was actually awake to every breath of popular sentiment, dived into the hearts of the citizens, and traced the aims and motives of every political cabal. There are no limits perhaps to the extent to which a cool head and artful temper may carry this kind of deception; but such cat-like vigilance can never be united with any real self-abandonment, and little reliance can be placed on the description we have received of the minister's geniality in private. We shall find reason to believe, when we come to review the characters of the literary companionhood which surrounded the board of Mæcenas, that the patron was, even in his most festive hours, still playing a part, and governing the world from the head of his table, by the wit and wisdom of his well-trained associates. If such was the case, we perceive how his earnest activity admitted of no actual relaxation; nor can we wonder at the wearing out of the vital machine under the constant tension of thirty years of effort. The date of Mæcenas's birth is not accurately known. It is supposed that he was a few

[1] Seneca, *Ep.* 101. 114. *de Prov.* iii. 9. That Mæcenas had a villa at Tibur is a constant tradition, and its supposed remains are still pointed out. See Eustace, *Class. Tour*, ii. 7.; Dunlop, *Hist. Rom. Liter.* iii. 43. There is said, however, to be no direct authority for the supposition, which may have been derived from a misunderstanding of the lines of Horace, *Od.* iii. 29. 6.

years older than his patron, and may have been about sixty at the time of his death.[1]

Causes of the favour with which he was regarded by posterity.

There seems, on the whole, no reason to seek far for the motives of the minister's retirement, least of all to ascribe it, with Tacitus, to the blind agency of Fate.[2] The failure of health of one whose whole time and thoughts were thus absorbed in the duties of his office, is amply sufficient to account for it, without supposing any jealousy or distaste on the part of his patron. But the Romans of a later age could not excuse the appearance of a slight to one, on whom they looked with fondness as a model for ministers. The views of policy they ascribed to him were eminently generous and liberal; he was supposed to have encouraged the expression of public opinion, to have opened a career to all ranks and classes, to have sought out merit wherever it was to be found, to have made the empire, to the best of his power, an administration of the best men! To him, also, they attributed the humane counsels for which the reign of the triumvir was so favourably remembered. He it was, they believed, that guided the author of the proscriptions into the path of clemency; and when he seemed about to stray from it, recalled him boldly and effectively.[3] Such were the principles, they said, which disarmed disaffection, and rendered the people contented and their chief secure. This was the work

[1] Fischer places his birth, in common with other writers, between 680 and 690 of the city. *Roem. Zeittafeln.*

[2] Tac. *Ann.* iii. 30.: "Idque et Mæcenati acciderat; fato potentiæ raro sempiternæ, an satias capit aut illos, cum omnia tribuerunt, aut hos, cum jam nihil reliquum est quod cupiant."

[3] The long political pamphlet which Dion Cassius has given us, as a speech of Mæcenas upon the ordering of the empire, is chiefly valuable on two accounts: first, as representing to a certain extent the actual form of government in his own time; and, secondly, as recording, to some extent also, the opinion his contemporaries entertained of the views and character of the speaker. Dion, lii. 14—40.

of Mæcenas, and this he effected without spies or *delators*, without a law of libel or a law of majesty. True, he was only a knight, and he had succeeded to the post of consuls and senators; but the generations which honoured him with these fond reminiscences, had been made to tremble under the sway of mistresses and freedmen.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

The history of Rome assumes the character of a domestic drama.—Character and conduct of Julia, and of Caius and Lucius Cæsar.—Augustus holds the balance between his grandsons and Tiberius.—Disgust and retirement of Tiberius to Rhodes (A.U. 748, B.C. 6).—Disgrace and banishment of Julia.—Deaths of Caius and Lucius.—Recall of Tiberius (A.U. 757, A.D. 4): he receives the tribunitian power a second time, and is adopted by Augustus.—Conspiracy of Cinna and clemency of Augustus.—Review of the personal habits of Augustus in his later years. (A.U. 747, B.C. 7. A.U. 757, A.D. 4.)

The history of Rome assumes the character of a domestic drama.

AT this period we seem to enter upon a new phase of Roman history: for the remainder of the reign of Augustus, which extended yet twenty years further, brought forth no great men, and not more perhaps than one great event, which will be related in its place. Many personages of note, and occurrences of some interest will flit before us; but these occurrences will be confined, for the most part, to the affairs of the Cæsarean family and palace, and might indeed be represented in a drama, the scene of which should be a chamber in the imperial residence, with but little aid from the machinery conventionally allowed for narrating what has passed behind it. The personages of this domestic piece should be a self-important and irritable father, an intriguing stepmother, two rival heirs—the one gloomy and suspicious, the other guileless and indiscreet—a daughter whose follies should serve to point the declamations of her sire with many grave and decorous maxims; while the under-plot of a detected conspiracy might display

the real magnanimity of his character, and solve the perplexities of his position by an act of judicious clemency. One grave and national disaster will break with a ruder shock the course of these private disquietudes, and recall us once more to the public theatre, on which the great interests of mankind are represented.

The gardens of Mæcenas on the Esquiline hill.

Amidst these anxieties the time was coming when Augustus would deeply lament the loss of his discreetest counsellors, from both of whom he had perhaps been partly estranged by the machinations of Livia and Tiberius.[1] On the death of the last survivor of the two, and the one to whom he was personally most attached, he expressed much genuine sorrow, though the inferior rank of Mæcenas did not allow him to make any public and notable manifestation of his grief. In the time of their mutual familiarity, he had indulged in a sort of womanish playfulness towards his elder companion, and had made his peculiarities the butt of good-humoured satire.[2] Mæcenas, on his part, gave the last proof of affection in making the emperor his heir; a compliment indeed which was becoming too customary to be noted as a genuine token of regard. The fortunate minister had accumulated great wealth, and among other monuments of his taste and magnificence had erected a noble mansion on the heights of the Esquiline hill, the most commanding situation in Rome. The domain of this residence had been bounded originally by the Agger of Servius,

[1] Dion, lv. 7.; Senec. *de Benef.* vi. 32.: "Sæpe exclamavit, horum nihil mihi accidisset si aut Agrippa aut Mæcenas vixisset . . . . . . tota vita Agrippæ et Mæcenatis vacavit locus."

[2] Macrobius (*Saturn.* ii. 4.) has preserved an amusing specimen of the imperial banter, aimed apparently at the minister's affectation of foreign finery: "Vale mel gentium, melcule; ebur ex Etruria, laser Arretinum, adamas Supernas, Tiberinum margaritum, Cilniorum smaragde, iaspi figulorum, berylle Porsenæ, carbuncule Italiæ."

which extended above a thousand yards along the north-eastern limits of the city, and was deemed to afford it sufficient protection, without the addition of a rampart of masonry. With the increasing security of the capital against foreign attack, this mound had ceased to be regarded as a fortification, and now formed a public promenade, or at least a causeway for communication from one part of the city to another. But the prospect it embraced, the most varied and extensive in Rome, was defaced by the charnel field of the Campus Esquilinus, which lay at its feet outside the city. Here, between the roads which issued from the Esquiline and Viminal gates, was the plot assigned for casting out the carcasses of slaves, whose foul and half-burnt remains were scarcely hidden from the vultures. The *Accursed field* was enclosed, it would appear, by neither wall nor fence, to exclude the wandering steps of man or beast; and from the public walk on the summit of the ridge it must have been viewed in all its horrors. Here prowled in troops the houseless dogs of the city and the suburbs; here skulked the solitary wolf from the Alban hills; and here, perhaps to the doleful murmurs of the Marsic chant, the sorceress compounded her philtres of the ashes of dead men's bones.[1] It was high time to sweep away this abomination of a barbarous antiquity, now become a source of pestilence to the habitations which daily encroached more closely upon it, as well as offensive to natural feeling. Mæcenas deserved the gratitude of the citizens, when he obtained a grant of this piece of ground, cleansed it from its pollutions, and transformed it into a park or garden, which was either thrown open for the recreation of the people, or allowed at least to present an agreeable object to the frequenters of the terrace above

[1] See Horace's Odes to Canidia, *Epod.* 5. 17.

it.[1] The Esquiline mansion of Mæcenas, the roof of which towered above every other habitation in Rome, commanded on one side a prospect of the ever-falling waters of Tibur and the fertile slopes of Æsula, while on the other it looked down upon the smoke, the splendour, and the turmoil of the great metropolis.[2] This domain, on becoming the patrimony of the Cæsars, was first inhabited by Tiberius, and was connected at a later period with the far extended precincts of the imperial residence; till a new dynasty sought to ingratiate itself with the mass of the citizens, by converting it, at least in part, into a pleasure ground for the public.[3]

Affection of Augustus for his daughter Julia.

From this time, however, the affections of Augustus were wholly centred on the members of his own family. They were subject to no capricious variations, nor were they indulged in any case to an extent which can fairly be branded as weak or culpable. He might surely be excused for blindness to the failings of an only

[1] Horace, *Sat.* i. 8. 14.:

"Nunc licet Esquiliis habitare salubribus, atque
Aggere in aprico spatiari, qua modo tristes
Albis informem spectabant ossibus agrum."

Upon which the scholiast remarks: "In Esquiliis Mæcenas domum instruxit, addiditque amœnos hortos perditis prius et subrutis sepulchris."

[2] Horace, *Od.* iii. 29.:

"Ne semper udum Tibur et Æsulæ
Declive contempleris arvum . . .
Omitte mirari beatæ
Fumum et opes strepitumque Romæ."

[3] It is a common opinion that the public baths of Titus were within the Horti Mæcenatis, and were perhaps an enlargement of the swimming bath of warm water which Mæcenas was the first to construct at Rome. Dion, lv. 7. The Thermæ Titi lay on the brow of the Esquiline, overlooking the Forum; and it is not impossible that the gardens of Mæcenas may have reached to this spot. But the commanding elevation on which the palace stood must have been some way further back, not far perhaps from the site of the church of St. Maria Maggiore, which is the highest spot in Rome, 177 feet above the sea-level. The Campus Esquilinus is now the gardens of the Villa Negroni.

daughter, till they were forced on his observation by their notoriety, and the risk of fatal consequences; for the fair Julia, though he had sported with her feelings for the furtherance of his settled policy, when he required her to marry Agrippa and Tiberius successively, he still felt a father's admiration. When he declared that if pure and high-born damsels could not be found to immure themselves in the cloisters of Vesta, he would devote his own daughter to tend the sacred fire, he was prepared to sacrifice all the pride of the sire to the still greater pride of the sovereign. He had carefully trained her for the throne or the temple in the austere habits which he pretended himself to cultivate; but from the time she had become her own mistress (and the frequent absence and constant occupation of Agrippa had given her in opening womanhood the control of her own leisure and amusements), Julia had relapsed into a scandalous levity which had caused him deep mortification. Nevertheless, the harmony of her union, and the likeness her children seemed to bear to the husband who acknowledged them, satisfied him that her follies had never degenerated into crime; and whenever he checked by word or sign the wantonness of her behaviour, she seldom failed to disarm his anger by the archness of her excuses. Thus, on her appearing one day before him brilliantly attired, Augustus made no remark, though his countenance indicated his vexation. The next day she came into his presence in the decorous habiliments of a sober matron, upon which he could not refrain from exclaiming with delight, that now she was arrayed as beseemed Cæsar's daughter. *To-day,* she replied, *I am dressed to please my father; yesterday I thought to please my husband.* Again, the eyes of the whole theatre were turned on one occasion upon Livia and herself, on their appearing in public, the one attended by a number of grave seniors, the other surrounded by a

troop of gay and dissolute youths. Augustus remarked to her the painful contrast between the demeanour of the empress and the princess. *But these young men*, she replied, *will grow old along with me.*[1]

Her accomplishments, attractions, and dangerous levities.

Excuses such as these, and still more the grace with which they were delivered, softened the father's heart, and while at one time he playfully complained that he had two troublesome daughters, Julia and the Republic, at others he would gravely declare that she was a second Claudia, the most illustrious model of Roman chastity.[2] Yet he must have sighed at the difference of her demeanour from the idea he had formed to himself of a Cæsarean princess. The conduct, he had said, of every member of his illustrious family should be such as might be daily blazoned in the Acts and Journals of the state.[3] To such an extent did he carry this prudery with respect to his daughter, that even after her marriage, as it would seem, he rebuked her for receiving a visit of compliment at Baiæ from a young nobleman named Vinicius.[4] To such restrictions the temper of Julia was peculiarly averse. The beauty of her countenance is still attested by coins and gems, and the traits of wit already mentioned evince, among others, that she was not less distinguished for cleverness. The care with which she had been educated had extended beyond the mere

[1] Macrob. *Saturn.* ii. 5.: "Et hi mecum senes fient."

[2] Liv. xxix. 14.; Suet. *Tib.* 2.

[3] Suet. *Oct.* 64. A hundred years before it had been recorded of M. Livius Drusus that he had wished for a house of glass, that every citizen might witness every action of his life. The different way in which Augustus expressed the same idea marks the change from the time when statesmen lived in public, to that when their proceedings were only discussed in private coteries.

[4] Suet. *l. c.* Velleius mentions Vinicii of three generations, and we cannot determine the precise period of this occurrence. But as Julia was first married to Marcellus at a very early age, it is not likely to have taken place while she was yet single; and if she had been a widow at the time, it would probably have been mentioned as giving some colour to the emperor's jealousy.

household employments to which her father pretended to destine her. She was a woman of letters and even erudition, and we may believe that, like the Sempronia, to whom Sallust pays an equivocal compliment, she danced, played, and sang with a grace and spirit which had but lately been confined to the least honourable of Roman women.[1] We cannot be surprised that she was proud of her position, as well as of her personal attractions, and courted the dangerous admiration she excited. Nor can we fail to sympathize with the magnanimity of her answer to one who objected that her manners were far removed from the affected simplicity of her father's: *He forgets that he is Cæsar; I cannot but remember that I am Cæsar's daughter.*[2] But the memory of Augustus went farther back than Julia's. He had heard, in his younger days, how talents and fascinations, such as hers, had aided in the development of political intrigues; that such had been the painted baits with which a Clodius or a Catiline had caught the gayest of the young patricians, and precipitated giddy spendthrifts into grave conspiracies. Such times might once more arrive; and the rumoured amours of Julia undoubtedly caused him double disquietude, both as a father and a ruler. On Agrippa's decease the emperor was for a time undetermined how to dispose of the widow, now in the full meridian of her passionate enjoyment of life. His regard for her good name, and for the dignity of his house, forbade him to leave the thoughtless matron without the protection of a legitimate guardian; but to unite her with some noble consular would have sown discord in his own family, and excited importunate pretensions in the breast of a stranger. Such untoward results might be averted by giving her to a husband of inferior rank; and he long scanned the list of the Roman knights to find her a respectable and trusty bride-

[1] Sallust. *Catil.* 25. [2] Macrob. *Saturn.* ii. 5.

groom. The intrigues of Livia diverted him, as we have seen, from this design; but the choice to which he was finally directed failed to accomplish any of the objects he had proposed. Tiberius, compelled to separate from a wife to whom he was attached, and who had borne him an only son, and distrusting the lightness of the woman he had consented to take in her stead, was met on her part by dislike and disdain. The daughter of the emperor despised the son of the empress.[1] She was proud of the numerous and flourishing family she had borne in her earlier wedlock; she considered her own position secured by their presumptive expectations, and regarded him as an unworthy intruder within the sphere of their splendid prospects. To Tiberius the fruitful Julia bore only a single child, who died in infancy: from thenceforth the ill-assorted couple never consented to cohabit again.[2] During the years which followed the husband was but little in Rome; nor do we hear of the wife accompanying him into the provinces. The imperial palace continued to be her residence; but she evaded the superintendence of an indulgent parent, and soon plunged, without restraint, into levities and vices which became the theme of every idle tongue.

The character of the times fatal to female virtue.

Many indeed were at that time the idle tongues and the idle hands of the teeming capital. The overwhelming energy, which, but a few years before, had animated the forum, the comitia, and the tribunals, was suddenly arrested

[1] Niebuhr is reported to have remarked, in his Lectures on Roman History (*Hist. Rom.* v. 175.), that Tiberius despised the daughter of Augustus. But this is evidently an oversight. Tacitus had said just the reverse: "Julia fuerat in matrimonio Tiberii. . . spreveratque ut imparem." A Julia, though by adoption only, was at least an equal match for a Claudius; besides, the first and beloved wife of Tiberius had been an obscure Vipsania. Comp. Tac. *Ann.* ii. 43.: "Eques Romanus Pomponius Atticus" (the grandfather of Vipsania) "dedecere Claudiorum imagines videbatur."

[2] Suet. *Tib.* 7.

in its full career. But it required more than half a century of servitude completely to paralyse its impulses. Forbidden to rush in full volume along the broad channel of public life, it oozed away in a thousand petty interests and trifling occupations. With the age of Augustus commenced an era of personal affectation.[1] A graceful address, a splendid equipage, a distinguished air stamped the candidate for popular admiration. A success in the counterfeit contests of the declaimers' schools, or before the partial tribunal of a social audience, contented the most ardent aspirants for fame or notoriety. The tone of this class was indeed far more humane and polished than it had been fifty years earlier: the young nobility of Rome were no longer led by ruffians and bravos; skill in the use of deadly weapons was no longer their point of honour; while the exercises of the Campus Martius served only to exhibit a fine figure or complexion, and the last shadows of faction were cast upon the contests of the Circus. Both men and women crowded the theatres to be seen rather than to see. Love-making succeeded to arms; verse-making to eloquence; vanity to ambition; pride of notoriety to thirst for glory. The exquisites of the day were men who dangled in the train of ladies, the oracles of coteries, the observed of aristocratic reunions; the flattery of the drawing-room was reduced to a system, and courtship between the sexes taught as an art.[2] Success in affairs of gallantry became a title to distinction, and a score of brave young nobles laid siege to the heart of a princess, who would for-

[1] Ovid, *Ars Amand.* iii. 107.:

> "Corpora si veteres non sic coluere puellæ,
> Nec veteres cultos sic habuere viros."

[2] The *Ars Amandi* of the poet Ovid, the liveliest mirror of the fashions of the time, came forth about the year 752, as will appear from a historical allusion which will be referred to in its place. The *Amores* was published earlier.

merly have emulated one another in storming a royal fortress. Such were the snares which surrounded the steps of the unfortunate Julia. Reckless and daring by nature, exulting in the grandeur of her station, overflowing with animal spirits, she seemed to lead the current of fashion which was hurrying her to irretrievable ruin.

Education and character of Caius and Lucius Cæsar.

Into this fatal vortex the grandsons of the emperor were now about also to enter. Augustus, in order to adopt them as his own children, had bought them, according to ancient form, of their father, with a piece of money weighed in a balance. He had taken a deep interest in them from their earliest infancy, and had carried them with him on his progresses, and placed them at the foot of his couch at meals.[1] Their education had been conducted under his own direction. He once found Caius, it is said, reading a work of Cicero's, and, when the boy would have concealed it, encouraged him to continue the perusal, saying with a pensive smile, *He was a great man and loved his country.*[2] The anecdote is cited in proof of the emperor's magnanimity; but it may also show that even his darling pupils could make only a surreptitious acquaintance with the noblest models of their language. An education thus restricted was at best but a counterfeit; we cannot expect that it would have trained the presumptive rulers of the empire to virtues suitable to their station. Brief as their career was destined to be, there is reason to believe that they profited but little by the lessons of moderation their grandfather inculcated upon them. Lucius, the younger, intoxicated by the acclamations which had greeted him on his

[1] Suet. *Oct.* 64., who adds a curious trait of affection: "Nihil æque elaboravit quam ut imitarentur chirographum suum."

[2] Plut. *Cic.* 49. A similar trait of moderation is recorded in his saying with regard to Cato: "Quisquis præsentem statum civitatis commutari non volet, et civis et vir bonus est." Macrob. *Sat.* ii. 4.

casual appearance in the theatre, had urged Augustus to make his elder brother consul before he had yet been numbered among the men.[1] Such had been the fortune of the young Octavius, in the midst of a revolutionary crisis, and the spoiled children of the empire would have adopted this exceptional precedent as an ordinary principle of government. *May the gods grant*, Augustus had replied, *that no such emergency shall again occur as that which made me consul before the age of twenty!* A magistracy, he added, should be given to none but such as have learned to control both their own passions and those of the people; and *to this rule, at least*, he might have said, *I myself was no exception.*

The tribunitian power for five years conferred upon Tiberius. A. U. 748. B. C. 6.

Nevertheless, favours and distinctions were rapidly showered upon the scions of the imperial house; and it was, doubtless, already intimated to them that the period of eligibility to the highest honours should be speedily abridged. Having conferred upon Caius the priesthood, and admitted him to the benches of the senate at spectacles and banquets, Augustus compensated Tiberius with the more substantial prerogatives of the tribunitian power, which was now bestowed upon him for a term of five years.[2] This elevation, which might be regarded technically as almost equivalent to association in the empire, would have made him, if present in the city, too decidedly superior to the younger princes. To modify its effect he was removed from the centre of affairs, under the pretext of a mission to Armenia, which, on the death of Tigranes, had been invaded by the Parthians. This nice attempt at equipoise seems, as might have been expected, to have entirely failed. The grandsons ventured to show themselves aggrieved by the predominance thus given to their kinsman, pre-eminent

[1] Dion, lv. 9.

[2] Dion, lv. 9.; Suet. *Tib.* 10.

though he was for his services and experience; and the son-in-law was not less hurt at the prospect of a distant expedition, which he justly regarded as a specious banishment. It is hardly to be supposed that Tiberius cowered under the rising favour of these aspiring youths, or that he voluntarily resigned the place nearest the throne to avoid collision with them; though the one is the reason assigned by the historians, the other that pretended by himself, for his relinquishing the hardships and glories of his foreign mission, and taking up his residence in the obscure retreat of Rhodes. Still less is it credible that this abandonment of active service, with all its hopes and visions of the future, was caused by disgust at the infidelities of Julia, to which a prevalent rumour ascribed it.[1] The cloud was upon him; the dark humour of his race was at the moment in the ascendant, and prompted him to shake off with a peevish effort the restraints of his position, and the dire necessity of eternal dissimulation, which he loathed while he crouched beneath it. At the mature age of forty years, he solicited a release from active service, and pretended a wish to cultivate philosophy in retirement. Augustus was surprised and vexed. He could not but suspect that his son-in-law was irritated against the children of Agrippa, and he demanded, perhaps, some proof of the affection which ought to subsist between such near relatives. Tiberius opened his will, and showed, by the provisions he had made for their advantage, that he entertained no personal jealousy.[2] When he pressed for leave to depart, the emperor pretended

His dissatisfaction and retirement from public affairs.

[1] Tac. *Ann.* i. 51.: "Nec alia tam intima Tiberio causa cur Rhodum abscederet."

[2] Dion, lv. 9. Comp. Suet. *Tib.* 10. Velleius, the flatterer of Tiberius, says, "Veritus ne fulgor suus orientium juvenum obstaret initiis, dissimulata causa consilii sui, commeatum ab socero atque eodem vitrico acquiescendi a continuatione laborum petiit."

the utmost distress, and joined his own prayers with Livia's that he would remain at Rome. Tiberius, not to be outdone in these transparent professions, threatened to starve himself unless his wishes were indulged. Having at last obtained his point, he went down to Ostia, leaving his wife and son behind him, and parted from his attendants in sullen silence.[1] As he sailed along the Campanian coast, he was overtaken by a report of the emperor's sickness, which induced him to halt. But when he found that this caused observation, he determined to proceed without further delay, and braved a tempest in prosecuting his voyage. This secession from affairs took place in the year 748. At Rhodes, the retired statesman seemed to abandon all concern for politics. He contented himself with a small house in the city, and a villa, not much more spacious, in the suburbs. He frequented, without attendants, the schools and lecture halls, the resort of philosophers and students, and amused himself with entering into their discussions as an ordinary visitor. The Rhodians, indeed, failed to comprehend such condescension, and incommoded the august stranger with importunate compliments. A professor, however, who ventured to respect his incognito so far as to reprehend his arguments, was soon convinced of his mistake by the blows of the lictors, whom Tiberius summoned to the spot.[2]

Caius Cæsar assumes the gown of manhood. A. U. 749. B. C. 5.

The sons of Agrippa reaped all the advantages of this ill-humour. Livia might witness with dismay the honours to which her son's rivals were now advanced, though she dared not manifest her vexation. After an interval of seventeen years, Augustus allowed himself to be invested once again with the consular fasces, and

[1] This son must have been Drusus, his child by Vipsania. Julia's infant, from the account of Suetonius, must have been already dead.

[2] Suet. *Tib.* 11. At this place we lose for a few years the guidance of Dion, and are left to the anecdotes of Suetonius.

opened the year 749 with due solemnities. He was about to introduce Caius to the people, on the occasion of his commencing his sixteenth year and reaching the age to assume the toga. The senators decreed that the young man should be eligible for the consulship within five years from that time; and anxious though he was to advance his favourite, Augustus himself, perhaps, interposed to withhold them from designating him for it at once.[1] When the emperor appeared once more in 752, surrounded, now for the thirteenth time, with the ensigns of the chief office of the free state, the enthusiasm of all ranks burst forth with extraordinary acclamations. They had already endowed him with every power, every distinction, every dignity they had officially to give; but the man who, after so long a tenure of power, still preserved to them the forms of liberty deserved the highest title of reverent affection which human nature can bestow. The appellation of *Father of his Country* was the dearest to the feelings of every genuine Roman; it had been heard indeed sometimes to resound from the lips of the multitude among the praises of Augustus; but now for the first time it was solemnly pronounced by the voice perhaps of the tribunes, and formally recorded. It was engraved over the gateway of the imperial residence, in the interior of the senate-house, at the foot of the emperor's statue, and in the precincts of his forum.[2] A public festival was decreed upon the occasion. Soon afterwards Augustus led his younger grandson into the forum,

Augustus receives the appellation of Pater Patriæ. A. U. 752. B. C. 2.

[1] Tac. *Ann.* i. 3.: "Nondum posita puerili prætexta principes Juventutis appellari, destinari Consules, specie recusandi flagrantissime concupiverat."

[2] Mon. Ancyr. col. 7. gr. vers. Comp. Kalend. Prænest. in *Fast. Verrian.* p. 106. (Orelli, *Inscr.* ii. 384.): "Non. Feb. N. concordiæ in arce feriæ ex S. C. quod eo die Imp. Cæsar Pont. Max. trib. potest. xxi. Cons. xiii. a S. P. q. R. pater patriæ appellatus." Fischer, *R. Z.* 422. Ovid, *Fast.* ii. 129. See above, chapter xxxiii.

and presented him in the gown of manhood to the assembled citizens. The two Cæsars received the title of *Princes of the Roman Youth*, and rode at the head of a cavalcade of noble companions, each with a silver spear and shield.[1] The emperor gave an extraordinary largess of money to all the citizens who were registered at the time as recipients of the public corn; a number which he had now succeeded in reducing to about two hundred thousand.[2] In the course of the year followed the dedication of the temple, just then completed, of Mars the Avenger, as a threat and defiance to the Parthians; and the martial ardour of the populace was stimulated by gladiatorial shows of more than usual magnificence, with the spectacle of a naval combat in the vast basin which Augustus had excavated on the other side of the Tiber.[3]

Disgrace and banishment of Julia.

The pride, however, with which Augustus regarded his illustrious grandsons at their entrance into manhood, was dashed by the conviction he could no longer suppress of the utter depravity of his daughter. The orgies of the wretched Julia spurned concealment or disguise. Among the partners of her licentiousness were some of the noblest youths of Rome, men whose acts and manners could not fail to be the talk of the whole city. The excesses in which she indulged were not less open than profligate. She traversed the streets and public places of the city by night, attended by the young bacchanals her companions, and polluted the dignified solitude of the rostra itself with her unseasonable revels.[4] In vain had the founder of

[1] Mon. Ancyr. col. 3. [2] Mon. Ancyr. *l. c.*

[3] Mon. Ancyr. *l. c.*; Suet. *Oct.* 43. Dion (lv. 10.) says that water was introduced into the Circus Flaminius, and thirty-six crocodiles slain there.

[4] Dion, lv. 10.: *ἀσελγαίνουσαν οὕτως ὥστε καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ γε τοῦ βήματος καὶ κωμάζειν νύκτωρ καὶ συμπίνειν.* Seneca (*de*

the empire devoted himself to the reformation of public manners; in vain had he pretended to emulate in his own person the severe virtues of the ancient heroes; the laws by which he affected to recall the pristine fame and fortune of the state were trodden under foot by his own daughter, his only child, the mother of his anticipated successors. Terrible must have been the shock to one who hoped to found an hereditary dynasty, when he was made to doubt the legitimacy of its first inheritors. In the passionate vexation which now overwhelmed every other feeling, he suffered himself to make a public avowal to the senate, by the mouth of his quæstor, of every crime imputed to the culprit. We cannot tell how far he had chosen to inquire into the truth of these charges, which some very near to him would not scruple to exaggerate; but it would seem that he adopted even the worst without qualification.[1] Nor did his spleen evaporate in words. He seized not Julia only, but the reputed partners of her vices also, of whom there were many both of equestrian and senatorial rank, and banished them from Italy. Among them were numbered an Appius Claudius, a Sempronius Gracchus, a Quinctius, and a Scipio; men of rank so exalted that they might have been tempted to intrigue with her against the prince and the government. The emperor boasted that he was satisfied with punishing the gallants of the princess with no greater severity than if she had

Benef. vi. 32.) goes still further: "Admissos gregatim adulteros, pererratam nocturnis comissationibus civitatem, forum ipsum et rostra ex quibus pater legem de adulteriis tulerat, in stupra placuisse."

[1] Seneca, in the passage above referred to, seems to have the official document in his eye. Julia was branded as the vilest mercenary: "ex adultera in quæstuariam versa," &c. Nevertheless she has found defenders. Ruhkopf (in loc. Senec.) refers to Wieland, *Werk.* xxiv. 338. Blackened she may have been; but in those evil times at what point of degradation was the man or woman who had once abandoned virtue likely to stop?

been merely a private matron. But the most distinguished of her paramours was Julius Antonius, the second of the sons borne by Fulvia to the triumvir, whom Augustus had spared for the sake of his sister, and eventually had elevated to the consulship. The ungrateful nobleman had corrupted the daughter of his benefactor, and induced her to conspire against his life; and the law of *majestas* or treason was invoked in this special case to aggravate the penalties of the law of adultery. Antonius suffered death. Julia herself, now in her thirty-eighth year, was exiled to the barren island of Pandateria, where she was treated with great harshness, and left in want of ordinary comforts.[1] The political colour of her offence was marked by the rigorous precautions taken with regard to the few visitors who were suffered to approach her. Her mother, Scribonia, was allowed, and perhaps required, to bear her company. Tiberius, on hearing of an event at which he doubtless felt little concern, thought it decent to intercede for her in a letter; but his instances were sternly rejected. He had, indeed, double cause of dissatisfaction, for, not content with infidelity to his bed, she had sought to injure him with her father by attacking his character with libels, in which she was supposed to have been assisted by Sempronius.[2]

The violence with which Augustus acted in this matter is not inconsistent with his character; for not only was he subject to accesses of sudden passion, but, when his feelings of anger and indignation had been long pent up and dis-

Deep indignation of Augustus.

[1] Macrob. *Saturn.* ii. 5. Vell. ii. 100.: "Se et Gallo Caninio Consulibus, dedicato Martis Templo." Between Jul. 1. and Oct. 1. Fischer.

[2] Tac. *Ann.* ii. 53. For the circumstances of this public scandal see Seneca and Dion, *ll. cc.*; Suet. *Oct.* 64. 101.; *Tib.* 7. 11.; Plin. *Hist. Nat.* vii. 46.; Vell. ii. 100. This last writer fixes the date of Julia's banishment to the summer of 752. Fischer, *Roem. Zeit.* p. 423.

guised, they were wont sometimes to burst out with accumulated and terrible force.[1] When a confidante of Julia named Phœbe hanged herself for fear of punishment, he was heard to exclaim in bitterness of spirit, *Would that I were Phœbe's father!* He was not slow, however, in recollecting himself, and perceiving that he had overstepped the limits of discretion. More than ever did he now lament the death of Agrippa and Mæcenas, whose counsels might have restrained him in the full career of his fury. He may have discovered, when too late, that, as regarded at least the treasonable practices ascribed to the lovers of Julia, he had been imposed upon by their enemies, and perhaps by Livia herself; for the name of Julius Antonius seems not to have been erased from the Fasti, the last disgrace which was ordinarily inflicted upon noble criminals.[2] Nevertheless his indignation against his daughter continued immovable. It was not till the expiration of five years that he allowed any mitigation of her sufferings, nor to the last could he be further prevailed on than to transfer her from her desolate island to the extreme point of the Italian continent. When the senators persisted in interceding for her, he truculently replied by wishing them such wives and such daughters for their own.[3]

Mission of Caius Cæsar to the East. A. U. 753. B. C. 1.

Meanwhile the world, according to the expression of the courtly Velleius, was feeling the effect of Tiberius's retirement. The Parthians, as he proceeds to explain, renouncing the alliance of Rome, laid hands upon

[1] Aurelius Victor (*Epit.* i.) says that he was merely "paululum impatiens, leviter iracundus;" but Suetonius tells a fearful story of his violence in the case of Q. Gallius. (*Oct.* 27.) Horace intimates that he was not to be trifled with even by his courtiers: "Cui male si palpere recalcitrat."

[2] Tac. *Ann.* iii. 18. See Walckenaer's *Hist. d'Horace*, ii. 395.

[3] Suet. *Oct.* 65.

Armenia. Tigranes, whom the Romans had placed upon the throne, had died in the year 748: the Armenians had taken advantage of this event to deliver themselves from dependence on their western protectors, and the sons of the deceased monarch had ventured to enter on their succession without seeking their crown from the emperor. Augustus, resenting this act of freedom, had equipped an expedition against them, from the command of which Tiberius, as we have seen, had withdrawn himself. But the Roman legions had proceeded, under another leader, to menace Armenia with invasion: the sons of Tigranes had been compelled to retire, and a prince named Artavasdes had been set up in their room.[1] A counter-revolution speedily followed. Artavasdes was expelled by his indignant subjects; the Parthians were called in to their assistance; the Romans suffered a defeat; and a second Tigranes succeeded, by the help of foreign arms, to the throne of his father.[2] This hostile movement on the part of the Parthians, who had so lately cowered under the anger of Augustus, bespoke revived confidence and power. At the same time the Arab chiefs of the Syrian frontier were provoking the chastisement of the empire. It was determined to send Caius Cæsar, with a numerous force and extensive powers, for the settlement of the affairs of the East.[3] In 753 the young prince had reached the age of twenty, and was designated for the consulship of the ensuing

[1] Coins of the year 749 bear the legend "Armenia recepta," in reference to this event. Hoeck, i. 2. 48.

[2] Tac. *Ann.* ii. 3, 4.: "Jussu Augusti impositus Artavasdes, et non sine clade nostra dejectus."

[3] Ovid, *Ars Amand.* i. 177. foll. (which seems to fix the date of publication to the year 752):

"Ecce! parat Cæsar domito quod defuit orbi
Addere: nunc, Oriens ultime, noster eris.
Parthe, dabis pœnas; Crassi gaudete sepulti....
Belluque non puero tractat agenda puer."

year. Placed under a veteran adviser, M. Lollius, the same, however, who had been defeated by the Germans in Gaul, he might be capable of leading the Roman legions to victory, at least the glory of his name and lineage might supply the place of personal reputation in arms.[1] Augustus, indeed, did not anticipate any serious resistance to his demands. He intended his grandson to show himself on the frontiers, and dictate from thence the terms of capitulation. Possibly he might contemplate some extension of the limits of the empire on the side of Arabia, and a renewal of the designs which Gallus had failed in accomplishing. Geographers and men of science were to follow the course of the armament: among these was Dionysius, surnamed the Circumnavigator, who was a native of the shores of the Persian Gulf; and the Mauretanian Juba, who wrote an account of the expedition, was probably an attendant upon it.[2]

Interview between Caius and Tiberius. A. U. 753. B. C. 1.

Flushed with the pride of youth and hopes of glory, Caius crossed the Ægean Sea on his way to his appointed province. Tiberius, who was already wearied with his retreat, and alarmed perhaps at the ease with which his place had been supplied at the head of the legions, sought an interview with the young imperator at Samos.[3] Whatever outward marks of respect the stripling might exhibit towards the veteran who now paid court to him, it is not likely that the conversation which occurred between them gave Tiberius any real satisfaction.[4] Augustus had been induced

[1] Velleius, ii. 102.

[2] Plin. *Hist. Nat.* vi. 27., xii. 14.

[3] Suetonius says Samos; Dion, Chios: the former island lay more directly in the proconsular route from Corinth to Ephesus.

[4] Velleius Paterculus, whose flattery of his patron Tiberius is everywhere transparent, wishes it to appear that even in disgrace and exile he was treated by Caius as his superior: "Convento prius Tiberio Nerone, cui omnem honorem ut superiori habuit," ii. 101.

to promise his grandson that his elder rival should neither be recalled to Rome, nor even suffered to return there, except with his permission; and if such permission was now sought it undoubtedly was not granted. When the exile represented to the emperor that he had withdrawn to Rhodes solely out of regard for his young kinsmen, and from anxiety to avoid causing them injury or annoyance, he was coldly bade to relinquish all concern for relatives from whom he had so perversely severed himself.[1]

Caius goes to Jerusalem, and confirms Herod's disposition of his possessions. A. U. 753. B. C. 1.

From Samos, Caius proceeded into Syria, and from thence despatched the imperious demands he was instructed to make upon the Parthian monarch, enjoining him to remove his creature Tigranes, and allow the return of Artavasdes to the throne of Armenia; but while he left these potent spells to operate in his absence, he made a progress himself in an opposite direction. The throne of Judea had been recently rendered vacant by the death of Herod.[2] The latter years of this prince's life, whose successful dexterity, rather than any grandeur in his designs or brilliancy in his exploits, had earned him the title of the Great, had been marked with more bloody and repeated atrocities than even his earlier career. Ten wives had borne him a numerous progeny, to poison every moment of his existence with fear and hatred. His jealousy had latterly been roused against the children he had brought back from Rome, and exalted so high

Dion, on the contrary, says, ὑπέπιπτεν οὐχ ὅτι τῷ Γαΐῳ ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ οὖσι. lv. 11. Suetonius speaks even more strongly of the contempt into which Tiberius had fallen.

[1] Suet. *Tib.* 11.: "Ultro admonitus est dimitteret omnem curam suorum, quos tam cupide reliquisset."

[2] The death of Herod was marked by an eclipse of the moon just before the passover in the year U. C. 750, B. C. 4; therefore towards the end of March (Clinton, *Fast. Hell.* iii. 256.) or the beginning of April (Ideler, *Chronol.* ii. 391. foll.). Joseph. *Ant. Jud.* xvii. 8. 1. See Fischer, *Roem. Zeit.* p. 420.

in his favour, and he had caused them both to be put to death with a vast number of their friends and presumed adherents. Antipater, another son, the instigator of these enormities, had soon after shared the same fate. He had fallen under a charge of treason to his father; but Herod seems to have asked permission of Augustus to punish him capitally. The emperor, after some delay, thought proper to leave the young man's fate in his parent's hands, and, well aware as he was what that fate would be, he may have then made the unfeeling jest recorded among his witty sayings by Macrobius, *I had rather be Herod's swine than his son.*[1] Other sons, however, still survived to ascend the blood-stained eminence. The will of the deceased monarch appointed, subject to the approval of the Roman power, that Archelaus and Antipas, the children of Malthace, should assume authority, the one in Judea, the other in the district of Galilee, while Philip, the offspring of Cleopatra, should bear rule in the trans-Jordanic region of Ituræa. Caius may have gone to Jerusalem to confirm these dispositions. When there, he offended the Jews by refusing to enter their temple, and assist at their national worship, an act of haughty reserve, of which, however, the emperor signified his approval. Agrippa, indeed, had offered vows and sacrifices on that same spot; but Augustus remembered that he had himself refrained from visiting the shrines of the Egyptian divinities. He considered it unseemly in the chiefs of the Roman religion to betray any token of interest in the rites of the foreigner.[2]

Caius entered upon his consulship in Syria at the

[1] Macrob. *Saturn.* ii. 4.: "Porcum quam filium:" but Augustus undoubtedly used the Greek, *ὗν ἢ υἱόν.*

[2] Suet. *Oct.* 93. Oros. vii. 3. This Christian writer, who assigns this event to 752, the year in which he places the birth of our Lord, declares that the great scarcity which afflicted Rome six years after was a punishment for this insult to the true God.

commencement of the year 754. During his progress among the states and potentates of the East, his tutor Lollius was chiefly intent on exactions and plunder. The charge of avarice which had been formerly made against him in Gaul, and which he had then succeeded in defeating or evading, was now redoubled, and with a different result. The Parthians divulged his guilt in receiving bribes for betraying the secrets of the republic. He was denounced by Caius to the emperor, and if he escaped public disgrace and punishment, he owed it perhaps to the opportuneness of his death, which was not without suspicion of violence.[1] When Augustus discovered that his grandson's opposition to the return of Tiberius had been prompted by this worthless adviser, he became himself more amenable to the entreaties of Livia. With the consent, it is said, of Caius, he now summoned the exile to Rome, requiring, however, the condition that he should abstain from taking part in public affairs. At this restriction Tiberius may have smiled in secret: the fortunes of the imperial house, flourishing as they seemed at the opening manhood of Julia's children, were not yet beyond the stroke of an adverse fate.[2] Scarcely had he regained his place by the side of the emperor, after eight years of absence, than the second of the young Cæsars fell sick and died. Lucius had been sent on a mission into Spain; but he got no further than Massilia, where his brief career was arrested in the summer of 755, in the course of which season the elder brother proceeded also to enforce his orders with regard to the affairs of Armenia, as to which he had received no satisfaction.[3] Caius summoned Phraates to an

Caius in Syria. A. D. 1. A. U. 754.

Mission of Lucius Cæsar to Spain, and death at Massilia. A. D. 2. A. U. 755.

[1] Suet. *Tib.* 13.; Vell. ii. 102.; Plin. *Hist. Nat.* ix. 35.

[2] Velleius, ii. 99., after the event, says, "Magna nec incerta spe futurorum."

[3] Vell. ii. 102.; Suet. *Oct.* 65.

interview, which took place on an island in the Euphrates, where the two great empires which divided the world were represented by the sovereign of the one and the presumptive heir to the other.[1] The Roman officers and soldiers, drawn up on the bank, acknowledged themselves the instruments of a military monarchy, and might already, perhaps, anticipate the time when they should in turn be acknowledged as its masters.[2] Sufficient explanation or submission having been offered by the Parthian, who promised henceforth to desist from interference with the affairs of Armenia, the two chiefs entertained each other alternately on the opposite banks of the river. The death of Artavasdes, however, at this moment, opened to Tigranes another chance of maintaining himself, by which he profited, and succeeded by adroit flattery in securing the favour of the Roman rulers. Augustus condescended to accept his submission; but in the mean time, either apprehending a refusal, or hoping to extort better terms by force, he defied the

A. D. 3. A. U. 756. young Cæsar to a trial of arms.[3] In 756 Caius advanced, but on arriving before the walls of Artagira, and admitting the governor Addon, on his offer of capitulation, into his presence, he received from him a treacherous wound. From the effects of this injury his constitution, which was perhaps, like his brother's, weakly, was never able to

[1] The passage in Velleius is corrupt, and it is not quite clear whether the Parthian monarchy was represented by its king Phraates or by his son Phraataces. Comp. Dion, lv. 11.

[2] Velleius, who was an eye-witness, seems to have felt that this event constituted an epoch in history. "Quod spectaculum stantis ex diverso, hinc Romani, illinc Parthorum exercitus, cum duo inter se eminentissima imperiorum et hominum coirent capita, perquam clarum et memorabile, sub initia stipendiorum meorum tribuno militum mihi visere contigit.' (ii. 101.)

[3] This is the statement of the Excerpta de Legationibus, inserted in this place by Ursinus (Dion, edit. Tauchnitz), but not admitted into Sturz's edition. There is much confusion in the remains of Dion's work at this place. lv. 11.

rally. Bodily suffering seems to have affected his temper. During the brief remnant of his life he indulged the petulance of his humour and his natural bias to idle and frivolous amusements.[1] There were now no matters of importance to detain him in the East. He requested permission, however, to remain in Syria, and to throw off for a time the cares of his august station. To the latter part of this request Augustus consented, though with great reluctance, communicating it, as a matter of imperial concern, to his obsequious senate: but he earnestly exhorted the prince to return at least to Italy.[2] Caius prepared to obey, and passed by sea from Syria into Lycia. But his health was now rapidly sinking, and at the town of Limyra he finally succumbed, eighteen months after the death of his brother. The citizens were startled as well as distressed at this recurring fatality. Their suspicions had been already more than once excited, and now, when the tardy return of Tiberius to Rome so nearly coincided with the removal of both his most prominent rivals, it was not unnatural that they should revive with redoubled force.[3] It might be difficult to connect the death of Lucius in Gaul or of Caius in Asia with Livia and Tiberius at Rome; but poison operates in secret,

Death of Caius Cæsar.

[1] Such, I think, is the insinuation of Velleius, whatever it may be really worth: "Ex eo ut corpus minus habile, ita animum minus utilem reipublicæ habuit." ii. 102.

[2] The affection of Augustus for his grandson is attested by the book of letters he addressed to him while absent on this expedition, some fragments of which have been preserved by Aulus Gellius, xv. 7. 3. "Ave mi Cai, meus ocellus jucundissimus, quem semper medius fidius desidero cum a me abes: sed præcipue diebus talibus qualis est hodiernus, oculi mei requirunt meum Caium: quem ubicunque hoc die fuisti, spero lætum et bene valentem celebrasse quartum et sexagesimum natalem meum (Sept. 24, 754) . . . Deos autem oro, ut mihi quantumcunque superest temporis, id salvis vobis traducere liceat in statu reipublicæ felicissimo, ἀνδραγαθούντων ὑμῶν καὶν διαδεχομένων stationem meam." Both the princes were at this time alive.

[3] Dion, lv. 11.; Tac. *Ann.* i. 13.; Plin. *Hist. Nat.* vii. 46.

and such secret operations, in the estimation of the vulgar, may dispense with the ordinary laws both of time and space.[1]

Augustus recalls Tiberius, and invests him with the tribunitian power for a second term of five years. A. D. 4. A. U. 757.

But the race of Agrippa was not yet exhausted, and the rival branch of the imperial house can scarcely have contemplated wading deliberately through the blood of so many competitors. Agrippa Postumus, born after the death of his father, was now in his fifteenth year, and might prove worthy of succeeding to the place of his deceased brothers in the affections of Augustus, and the hopes of the people. But whatever the emperor's inclinations might be, he felt the claim his countrymen had upon him, and was too magnanimous to sacrifice the welfare of the state to a private partiality. He was deeply distressed at the loss of the youths in whom he had anticipated not only props for his own declining strength, but powerful protectors of the public interest. Amidst all the outward appearance of power and magnificence which surrounded his administration, he could not fail to perceive how precarious was the foundation on which the prosperity of the empire now rested. Every year resistance sprang up, in some shape or other, on one of the extended frontiers of his dominions, and a presentiment might sometimes intrude on his thoughtful mind, of a dire reverse to be one day experienced by his arms. The moral force of his government was founded on its success, and he was nervously sensible to the consequences which might ensue upon a great public disaster. Tiberius alone could now supply to him the place of his trusty Agrippa. He determined accordingly to devolve

[1] The Cenotaphium Pisanum, a monument still in existence, erected in memory of the young Cæsars by the townspeople of Pisæ, who had recently chosen Lucius as their patron, exhibits a long and curious inscription in their honour. Orelli, *Inscr.* i. 162. Caius died in February, 757.

openly upon him a share in the government, and for this purpose insisted, notwithstanding his pretended reluctance, that he should accept, in conjunction with himself, the powers of the tribunate for a second quinquennium.[1] When Tiberius had before been honoured with this distinction, it had been accompanied with dismissal to the provinces, and followed by removal from affairs. But with the death of the young Cæsars, and his own readmission to the cares of state, the position of Tiberius had become materially changed. This formal investiture now placed him at once on the same footing as that enjoyed by the veteran Agrippa during his latter years: and there can be no doubt that it was universally regarded as a virtual introduction to the first place in the empire. *I do it,* said the emperor, perhaps with a sigh, *for the public weal.* At the same time he adopted Tiberius into his own family, and together with him the young Agrippa, to learn the duties of his station under the auspices of his step-father. Tiberius was required, moreover, to adopt in his turn Germanicus, the eldest son of his late brother Drusus. Whatever were the anxieties and intrigues of Livia, they might now, for a time at least, be allayed. The programme of the succession was significantly shadowed out: Tiberius had been ordered to assume his place at the head of the senate, the people, and the army, and was now exhibited before the eyes of the citizens as the partner of the emperor's honours as well as of his counsels.[2]

Tiberius is adopted into the Julian family.

[1] Suet. *Tib.* 16. Dion, lv. 13., says ten years. Vell. ii. 103.: "Quod post Lucii mortem adhuc Caio vivo facere voluerat, atque vehementer repugnante Nerone erat inhibitus, post utriusque adolescentium obitum facere perseveravit." The adoption which took place at the same time is dated June 27. A. U. 757, A. D. 4.

[2] Suet. *Oct.* 65., *Tib.* 15.; Tac. *Ann.* i. 3.; Dion, lv. 12. Vell. ii. 103.: "Lætitiam illius diei, concursumque civitatis, et vota pæne inferentium cœlo manus, spemque conceptam perpetuæ securitatis

After the ceremony of his adoption, Tiberius departed for the German frontier, to undertake a third expedition, the fortunes of which will be presently related, for the honour of the empire in that quarter.[1] Meanwhile Augustus, though saddened with disappointments, and sated perhaps with the gratification of his ambition, still plodded on with admirable industry in the career of civil reformation. The constructive and administrative tendency of the Roman mind was developed in none of the great men of the republic more remarkably than in the founder of the empire. The security of his own power he felt to be now thoroughly established: he had entered, not long before this period, without an audible murmur, upon the fourth decennium of his imperial rule.[2] He could not have required the senate any longer as an essential instrument of his policy; its actual power was gone, and with its power its consideration had collapsed; yet blinded by his ruling idea of constitutional renovation, he still persisted in decking the victim he had already sacrificed. In fact, it was in irritating the pride and self-love of individual nobles that his only danger now lay. The people might make tumultuary assemblies, and demand with importunate cries the recall of his banished daughter: such demonstrations he could easily repress, and would scarcely condescend to notice. But when he repeated this year, for the third time, his dreaded scrutiny of the senate, and the expulsion of its unworthy members, he once more deliberately imperilled life and power merely to satisfy the sentiment of symmetry and completeness. He had now no Agrippa to stand between him and

Continued labours of Augustus.

Third revision of the senate. A. D. 4. A. U. 757.

æternitatisque Rom. imperii vix persequi poterimus, nedum hic implere."

[1] Vell. ii. 104, 105.

[2] Towards the end of the year 756. Dion, lv. 12.

the angry passions of the degraded senators; he even allowed Tiberius to take his departure from Rome before he committed himself to the task. Acting through a board of some influential members of the body, he caused an investigation to be again made into the lives and means of the whole: all such as had reason to fear the result of the inquiry he invited, as on a former occasion, to retire of their own accord; but when few were found to make this spontaneous abdication, he acted with indulgence towards them, expelling only a small number, while he qualified others, by adding to their fortunes from his own bounty.[1]

Conspiracy of Cinna. A. D. 4. A. U. 757.

The violence indeed of the magnates of the last generation had been quelled or moderated in their children. Augustus needed not now to conduct his inquiry with a breastplate under his gown in the midst of the senate house. Nevertheless the covert designs of the ambitious or the offended never allowed his vigilance to slumber. A plot was formed for his destruction, at the head of which was a Cnæus Cornelius Cinna, described as a son of Faustus Sulla by a daughter of the great Pompeius.[2] Although this man does not

[1] Suet. *Oct.* 35. Dion, lv. 13.: πραότερός τε καὶ ὀκνηρότερος ὑπὸ τοῦ γήρως πρὸς τὸ τῶν βουλευτῶν τισιν ἀπεχθάνεσθαι γεγονώς.

[2] The story of Cinna's conspiracy is told by Seneca, *de Clem.* 9., and Dion, lv. 14. foll. They agree in the main fact; but Seneca is our authority for the details of the interview between Augustus and his enemy, while Dion has doubtless invented his long conversation between the emperor and Livia. Seneca, however, calls the conspirator Lucius, and places the event in the fortieth year of Augustus (A.U. 731), the scene in Gaul; Dion, on the other hand, gives the name of Cnæus, and supposes the circumstances to have occurred twenty-six years later, and at Rome. It may be observed that a son of Faustus Sulla must have been at least fifty at this latter date, nor do we know why he should bear the name of Cinna, though an adoption is not impossible. Suetonius does not mention this among the conspiracies he enumerates against Augustus. But, whatever doubt there may be about the person, the period, and the place, the only point of importance, the fact, namely, of a conspicuous act of clemency on the emperor's part, may be considered as established.

appear to have been personally aggrieved by the emperor's measures, he may have found instruments for his private ambition in the mortification and resentment of the disgraced senators. Proud of his descent and oblivious of the favours he had received at the hands of Augustus, who had made that descent no bar to his advancement (indeed it had been the uniform policy of the emperor to place the great names of the oligarchy at the head of his imperial democracy), he was vain enough to imagine that he could himself wield the powers of empire, and that the old nobility would acquiesce in his supremacy. One of his accomplices, however, disclosed to the emperor the design to surprise him in the act of sacrificing, and slay him at the foot of the altar. Time was when Augustus would have rushed impetuously to punish such an attempt in a paroxysm of fear or anger. But these passions had now cooled down: he could reason calmly with himself; he could take deliberate counsel with his advisers, how best to baffle designs which neither the certainty nor the severity of punishment had hitherto availed to repress. The Romans ascribed to Livia the merit of persuading him that mercy was also policy. A remarkable scene followed. While the chief criminal was yet unconscious that his plot was detected, Augustus summoned him into his cabinet, and ordered a chair to be set for him by the side of his own; and then, desiring not to be interrupted, proceeded to deliver a discourse, which, according to his custom in matters of importance, he had already prepared, and perhaps committed to writing. He reminded his uneasy auditor of the grace he had bestowed upon him, though a political enemy and the son of an enemy; he had granted him life, had enriched and distinguished him. He had raised him to the honour of the priesthood, over more than one competitor from the ranks of the Cæsareans themselves.' *After all these favours*, he

continued, *how could you plot to take away my life?* Cinna could keep silence no longer: he vehemently disclaimed the horrid imputation. *You promised not to interrupt me,* rejoined Augustus, and proceeded calmly with his harangue, unfolding all the details of the conspiracy, and finally asking what end the traitor could have proposed to himself; how could he hope to fill the place of the emperor, who could not maintain his dignity as a private citizen, but had recently suffered defeat in a legal encounter with a freedman? *Be assured,* he added, *it is not myself alone who stand in your way, if such be your ambition: neither the Paulli nor the Cossi, the Fabii nor the Servilii, will suffer you to assume dominion over them.* Thus did he continue for more than two hours, to pour forth his premeditated argument, before he arrived at the unexpected conclusion, in which he assured the culprit, not of forgiveness only, but of renewed favour. *Let this,* he said, *be the commencement of friendship and confidence between us.* Shortly afterwards he conferred on him the consulship, and found him ever afterwards a grateful and sincere adherent,[1] Cinna at his death bequeathed his property to his illustrious benefactor; and this, it was remarked, was the last occasion of any attempt being made against the life of the magnanimous Augustus.[2]

Clemency of Augustus.

Such is the story,—the romance, should we call it?,—which has embalmed the fame of the second Cæsar's clemency, and has served sometimes to balance in the eyes of posterity the

Reflections upon this story.

[1] Cn. Cornelius Cinna was consul with Valerius Messala, A.U. 758. It was this circumstance, perhaps, that induced Dion to place the conspiracy in the year preceding.

[2] Senec. *l. c.*: "Hæc eum clementia ad salutem securitatemque perduxit; hæc gratum ac favorabilem reddidit; quamvis nondum subactis reipubl. cervicibus manum imposuisset; hæc hodieque præstat illi famam, quæ vix vivis principibus servit."

selfishness and cruelty of his youth. It is related with ample details by two writers of authority, whose testimonies may be considered as perfectly independent.[1] One of them was living at the time, and has obtained credit, not without reason, for his notices of historical events interspersed among writings of a very different character. The suspicion which would ordinarily attach to such details of private conversation, is removed by the circumstance, elsewhere attested, that Augustus did habitually prepare and commit to writing the discourses he was about to hold; not only harangues before the senate or arguments in council, but even confidential deliberations with his own consort.[2] There seems, therefore, no reason to question the general correctness of the sketch of this remarkable interview, as given by Seneca; and assuming its authenticity, it confirms in a striking manner the impression we have already received of the absence of any public spirit in the opposition which the imperial regime still occasionally experienced. It is assumed without a remark, that the object of the conspirator was simply to leap himself into the seat of Augustus; that the chiefs of the old nobility would resent his usurpation, not as a public wrong, but merely as a grievance to themselves. The pretence of liberty, once sanctioned by the name of Brutus, was too transparent to be

[1] Seneca and Dion Cassius, *ll. cc.* The philosopher is supposed to have been born a few years B.C., perhaps twenty years later than the date he gives himself for the story, but six years before that assigned to it by the historian. His father lived in Rome, and the great topics of the day were of course familiar to him. Dion, on the other hand, consulted the archives and historical writers of note; but, as a Greek, he is not likely to have made acquaintance with the secondhand speculations in moral science of a Roman.

[2] Suet. *Oct.* 84.: "Sermones quoque cum singulis, etiam cum Livia sua graviores, non nisi in scriptis et e libello habebat, ne plus minusve loqueretur ex tempore." It may be added that Augustus would naturally take care that an incident so much to his credit should be circumstantially detailed.

advanced again. It was no better than a pretence fifty years before; it had ceased to be admissible even as a pretence now. Fifty years before the commonwealth might have boasted of one enthusiast in Cicero, of a solitary fanatic in Cato: but the last of the race of heroes had left no successors, and the old fictions of the republic were no longer seriously regarded by a single citizen of Rome.

Private habits of Augustus: his behaviour to his freedmen, slaves, and to women.

Augustus had thus obtained the licence which he had once complained was denied to him alone; secure in the enjoyment of his power, he could now exhibit just resentment without necessarily entailing fatal consequences on its object.[1] From principle, as well as from natural disposition, he maintained in all their strictness the rules of friendship or fellowship as practised by the nobles of Rome. To admit a companion to his hours of relaxation was with him a matter of solemn ceremony, and established ever after a mutual claim to confidence and regard. These connexions were hallowed by the reciprocal attendance of the parties on occasions of family interest; they were cemented by correspondence, by presents, and various tokens of mutual esteem or good will. Such were the *offices* or duties of friendship, which constituted a large part of Roman ethics. Such *benevolence* Augustus rigidly exacted from his living associates: it was understood that he expected it even from the dying; and though he was said to show no avidity for testamentary bequests, and never to have accepted them from persons with whom he was personally unconnected, he was strict in requiring such marks of his friends' regard, and scrutinized them with jealous solicitude, as genuine indications of feeling. If grati-

[1] On the occasion of the suicide of Gallus, "illacrymavit, et vicem suam conquestus est, quod soli sibi non liceret amicis quantum vellet irasci." Suet. *Oct.* 66. See above, ch. xxxiii.

fied by a liberal bequest he generally waived it for the benefit of the deceased's kindred. In the treatment of his personal attendants, his slaves, or his freedmen, a class who were often more really intimate with the noble Roman than the fellow-citizens whom he admitted to his friendship, Augustus obtained a character for mildness and consideration.[1] Law and custom, however, gave him power of life and death over the menials of his household, and he hardly resented with greater sternness the crime of one of these who was convicted of adultery with a matron, than that of another who had opened his letters for a bribe.[2] His grandson's attendants in the East were still slaves of the imperial family, and upon these, on proof of their violence or peculation, he exercised extreme severity. A third class of the emperor's intimates were the women, with whom he amused his leisure. Public opinion would have tolerated any amount of licentiousness in this particular, had the amours of the chief of the citizens been confined to freedwomen or strangers. But to force a slave was reputed indecorous, while to seduce a matron was branded as a crime. The indulgences of Augustus were said to be of the latter kind. His apologists could only allege that his intrigues were a matter not of passion, but of state-craft, and that he extracted the secrets of his adversaries from the weakness of their dissolute consorts. This refers, perhaps, to the period of the great struggles of his early career; no such explanation could be offered in excuse for the weakness of his later years[3], to

[1] Yet Augustus never condescended to ask a freedman to his table, except in the peculiar instance of the traitor Menodorus. Suet. *Oct.* 74.

[2] Suet. *Oct.* 67.: "Proculum . . . mori coegit; Thallo . . . crura fregit."

[3] Dion, lviii. 2.: *πάντα τὰ δοκοῦντα αὐτῷ ἡδέως ποιοῦσα, καὶ μήτι ἄλλο τι τῶν ἐκείνου πολυπραγμονοῦσα, καὶ τὰ ἀφροδίσια αὐτοῦ ἀθύρματα μήτε διώκουσα μήτε αἰσθάνεσθαι προσποιουμένη.* Comp. Suet. *Oct.* 69.

which even Livia, the paragon of matronhood, was supposed to have lent herself.

Amused himself with games of chance.

The vice of gaming with dice must seem a venial offence in a man whose ordinary pieces were nations, and whose stakes were empires. Yet upon this subject the Romans had also strong prejudices, and Augustus was gravely reproached for avowing that he amused himself in his family, or among his nearest associates, with games of chance for the most trifling ventures. He played, says Suetonius, openly and without disguise, even in his old age; nor did he confine himself to the genial month of December, but indulged in this way any day of the year, whether of business or recreation.[1] Letters have been preserved in which he recounts to Tiberius his bloodless contests at the supper table with Vinicius and Silius; how they had played, for pastime not for gain, sporting a single denarius on each die, and sweeping the modest stakes with the lucky throw of the Venus. *We played daily through the five-day feast of Minerva, and kept the table warm. Your brother was most vociferous.*[2] *Yet he lost but little after all . . . . I lost for my part twenty pieces: but then I was generous, as usual, for had I insisted on all my winnings, or retained all I gave away, I should have gained fifty. But I like to be liberal, and I expect immortal honour for it.* To Julia he wrote: *I make you a present of* 250 *denarii, the sum I*

[1] Suet. *Oct.* 71.: "Aleæ rumorem nullo modo expavit, lusitque simpliciter et palam, etiam senex; ac præterquam Decembri mense, aliis quoque, festis profestisque diebus." Comp. Martial, iv. 14.:

"Dum blanda vagus alea December
Incertis sonat hinc et hinc fritillis."

[2] This allusion to Drusus shows that the letter is not of late date; and the words, "we played γεροντικῶς," innocently, as old men do, that is, for amusement merely, does not imply that Augustus and his party were themselves old.

gave to each of my guests to play at dice with at supper, or, if they pleased, at odd and even.[1] The biographer seems uncertain whether he ought to pass over such errors without censure: he contents himself, however, with adding that except in this matter only the continence of the emperor was signal, and he escaped the imputation of any other failing.

Peculiarities of taste and literary style.

The moderation of Augustus in regard to the size and outward show of his residences has been remarked in our review of his public character, it may be added, that he caused even a house which Julia had erected to be pulled down, as too sumptuous and splendid.[2] In the interior of his dwellings he might have indulged without invidious notice in the luxurious decorations affected by the opulent magnates. It was from a peculiarity of taste, therefore, rather than any politic calculation, that, instead of works of painting or sculpture, he was fond of collecting natural curiosities, such as the fossil bones of mammoths and saurians, which were found in abundance in his island of Capreæ, and were vulgarly reputed to be the remains of giants and heroes. Thrown from his earliest years into the vortex of public action, and absorbed in a game of life and death, it was impossible for Augustus to imbibe tastes which are seldom acquired except by reflection and leisure. Nor had he the temper which affects connoisseurship without knowledge. His turn of mind was directed to the positive and practical, and he disdained, after the manner of an antique Roman, the pretence of sentiment or æsthetic refinement. Though not unversed in literature, and even a composer, like every well-bred Roman, both in prose and verse, we can hardly suppose that he took

[1] Suet. *l. c.*: "Si vellent inter se inter cœnam vel talis vel par impar ludere."

[2] Suet. *Oct.* 73.

any interest in ethical speculations.[1] The companions of his leisure hours were jurists, grammarians, and physicians, rather than philosophers, and he is not reported to have lent the authority of his name to any of the still contending schools of thought. The logical habit of his mind is curiously exemplified in the statement that he insisted on writing according, not to established orthography, but to spoken sounds.[2] To the objection that were such a practice to prevail, it would obliterate the historical derivation and continuity of language, he would have been wholly inaccessible. Perhaps he would have been not less indifferent to the argument, that it would throw the great mass of existing literature into oblivion, and condemn even the remainder to be retranscribed. On the same principle, however, he was more legitimately careful to avoid affectation and curious refinement in the choice of words: his chief care, it is said, was to express his meaning clearly, and, with this view, he disregarded even grammatical rules, and took no pains to avoid repetitions. He amused himself with ridiculing the opposite vices in the style of Mæcenas, whose sentences he compared to frizzled ringlets, and whose language, he said, seemed steeped in myrrh and unguents. He called Antonius a madman, for writ-

[1] Suetonius (*Oct.* 85.) enumerates his pieces: a reply to Brutus's panegyric on Cato ("rescripta Bruto de Catone"); verses on Sicily, with reference probably to his campaigns there; a tragedy of Ajax, which he blotted out ("quærentibus amicis quid Ajax ageret, respondit Ajacem suum in spongiam incubuisse"); an account of his own life as far as the Cantabrian war, in thirteen books; and finally, an Exhortation to Philosophy, about the nature of which nothing is said, and which may have merely contained elementary instruction for his grandchildren. Though a reader of ancient poetry, and especially of Greek comedy, his attention was chiefly directed to extracting from it rules of life and policy: "in evolvendis utriusque linguæ auctoribus nihil æque sectabatur quam præcepta et exempla publice vel privatim salubria."

[2] Suet. *Oct.* 88.: "Videtur eorum potius sequi opinionem qui perinde scribendum ac loquamur existiment."

ing to be admired rather than understood; nor did he spare his own pupil, Tiberius, for the affectation of antique and recondite phraseology. He urged his grandchild, Agrippina, to make it her aim that neither readers nor hearers should have any trouble in understanding her.[1] Meanwhile, the style of the imperial censor himself, which must have been a strange one, found happily no imitators. Nothing, however, remains to tell us how it was criticized in return: the minute particulars regarding it preserved by Suetonius show how long the Romans retained an interest in everything that related to their great emperor; but even at the distance of a hundred years, it seemed more respectful to describe his peculiarities than to reprove them.

Augustus addicted to superstition.

The chief of the great empire, the head of so many departments of administration and the supervisor of all, had every minute of his day occupied to overflowing. The details of the employment of his time may indeed fill us with astonishment, when we reflect that they refer not to the overwrought exertions of a few feverish years, but to the whole course of a long life engaged in public affairs. Yet Augustus, we are told, never suffered business, even during his campaigns, to stop his daily practice of declamation, of reading and writing; and the speeches he addressed to the senate and other bodies were always carefully meditated, and even transcribed before delivery.[2] With so much method, such constancy of purpose, together with the self-control which pre-eminently marked him, it may seem strange to us to read that he was as timid as a child in all that related to the superstitions of his time. He trembled at thunder and lightning, not

[1] Suet. *Oct.* 86. There is nothing peculiar in the style of the few verses on the death of Virgil ascribed to Augustus.

[2] Aurel. Victor, *Epit.* 1.: "Ut nullus, ne in procinctu quidem, laberetur dies quin legeret, scriberet, declamaret." Comp. Suet. *Oct.* 84.

from the vulgar fear of their fatal effects, but from horror at their occult and mysterious causes; he marked the portents which seemed to attend on his own career not less anxiously than the weakest of his subjects; he considered his own and others' dreams with painful solicitude, and observed all signs and auguries with a serious curiosity.[1] He became, in fact, the victim of the excessive precision and minuteness of his observation on all subjects, which never suffered him to rest in the broad principles either of belief or scepticism, but constantly harassed him with vain and frivolous inquiries into matters on which no satisfaction could be attained.

His kindness and gentleness.

After all, the most agreeable feature in the character of Augustus, is the good-humoured cheerfulness, which sprang apparently from a deep-seated contentment, and showed itself, among other things, in the pleasure he took in the simple sports of children, whom he was always glad to have about him and to play with, which overflowed also in tokens of affection towards his nearest connexions. His playful intercourse with Mæcenas and Horace, with his daughter Julia, with his grandsons Caius and Lucius, and even with the morose Tiberius, was the yearning of unaffected feeling. The recorded instances of his wit and repartee all bear this character of good humour. Some of them have been already given in the course of this narrative, the rest perhaps are hardly worth repeating.[2] But, as Macrobius remarks, he deserves more

[1] Suet. *Oct.* 90—92.

[2] See especially the collection of his jests in Macrob. *Sat.* i. 4. In some there is an ingenious play upon words which could not be expressed in another language. Perhaps the best are the following: "Vettius cum monumentum patris exarasset; ait Augustus; Hoc est vere monumentum patris colere;" and, "Cum multi Severo Cassio accusante absolverentur; et architectus fori Augusti exspectationem operis diu traheret; ita jocatus est, Vellem Cassius et meum forum accuset."

admiration for the sarcasms he suffered to be addressed to himself, some of which were severely cutting, than for the gentle banter he indulged in towards others. The attainment of his utmost desires had left him placable in his animosities, and clement from temper as well as policy. If a Roman had any true sensibility, it was in his friendships that he displayed it, and towards his friends Augustus was both constant and delicate. A generation had now grown up to whom the horrors of the proscriptions were only a whispered tale; the revolutionary triumvir had become in their eyes a kind and genial old man, grown grey in serving the commonwealth, and still the guardian genius of the country he had saved. Loudly as the blessings of his rule were proclaimed, they felt more sensibly than poets or orators could tell them that his life was the pledge of their continuance. As he grew weaker, and betrayed once more the infirmities of nature, which had caused such alarm to the Romans in his younger days, even the best of patriots must have admitted that he should either never have been born, or else should never die.[1] That the citizens should have forgotten, under their own vines and fig-trees, the crimes he had committed against their unhappy sires may not be hard to comprehend: it is more difficult to understand the real feelings of the man who had done such things, and betrayed to the close of life no uneasy recollection of them.

[1] Such may be supposed to be the meaning of Aurelius Victor, *Epit.* 1.: "Cunctis vulgo jactantibus, utinam aut non nasceretur aut non moreretur: alterum enim pessimi exempli, exitus præclari alterum."

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Tiberius, on his return from Rhodes, at first takes no part in public affairs.—After the death of Caius he comes again forward.—His mission to Gaul in 757.—He reaches the Elbe.—The Marcomanni and the kingdom of Maroboduus.—Expedition of Tiberius against the Marcomanni in 759.—Frustrated by the revolt of the Pannonians.—Alarm at Rome.—Banishment of Agrippa Postumus.—The Pannonians are reduced by Tiberius and Germanicus, A.U. 759—762.—Intrigues against Augustus.—Banishment of the younger Julia.—Banishment of the poet Ovidius Naso, 761.—Discontent of the citizens.—The Roman province between the Rhine and Elbe.—Overthrow of Varus and loss of three legions, 763.—Consternation at Rome.—Tiberius sent to the Rhine.—Old age of Augustus.—Tiberius receives the proconsular power, and is virtually associated in the empire.—His hopes of the succession.—Rumoured reconciliation of Augustus with Agrippa Postumus.—Record of the acts of Augustus.—Monumentum Ancyranum.—Last days and death of Augustus.—Conclusion. (A.D. 4—14. A. U 757—767.)

Gloomy prospects of Tiberius at Rhodes.

THUS reinstated in the highest consideration to which a citizen could attain beneath the shadow of the imperial power, Tiberius might look with horror on the humiliation, not unmingled with personal danger, from which he had so recently emerged. He had experienced, as the fruit of his perverse resentment, how short is the step from retirement to oblivion, how precarious the condition of a royal exile, how nigh, in the case of the most exalted fortunes, disgrace ever borders on destruction. As the conviction was gradually forced upon him, that his moody abandonment of his duties had been an act of fatal impolicy, he had become disgusted with the retreat which he had chosen, he had buried himself in the recesses of his narrow prison-house, had thrown aside the garb of a senator, and waived the visits of the officers who still halted on their route at Rhodes, or turned thither out of their way to pay court

to the emperor's son-in-law. From year to year these visits of compliment and policy became more rare. The displeasure of Augustus was more generally known, and the courtiers took their cue from the indications he gave of his sentiments. Tiberius was made aware that if the citizens still spoke of him at all, it was with an affectation of pity or resentment. One of the Gaulish states actually voted that his statue in their forum should be overthrown. In the tent of Caius Cæsar officious persons were found to speak of him contemptuously as *the exile*, and even offer to lay his head at their young patron's feet.[1] This tone was encouraged, perhaps, by the arrogant demeanour of the prince himself in the interview they had had at Samos; and the enmity of his tutor Lollius towards Tiberius, whatever its motive, was sufficiently notorious among the legions. Tiberius meanwhile, uneasy in mind and dissatisfied with his own conduct, yet unable to abate the emperor's resentment, fell into deep despondency. Able as he undoubtedly was, he was deficient in a manly reliance on his abilities, and under discouragement or perplexity his faintheartedness took refuge in dreams and omens. From his childhood, indeed, like many a scion of a ruling house, he had been pampered with auguries of his future greatness, in the contemplation of which his native strength of character may have been partly enervated. He now devoted himself still more eagerly to the study of the future, in which he consulted the skill of the astrologer Thrasyllus. The post of seer in the household of so wayward a patron must have been one of peculiar difficulty, nor was it devoid of danger. Its occupant was the unwilling depositary of many perilous secrets. He was employed to cast the horoscope, not of his master only, but of his master's enemies or rivals,—of the

He addicts himself to astrology.

[1] Suet. *Tib.* 13.

young Cæsars, Caius and Lucius, possibly of Augustus himself. He was made the reluctant accomplice of investigations which either were already treasonable, or might hereafter become so. Among the horrid stories regarding the recluse of Rhodes, which were now noised abroad to the dismay of the citizens, it was said that he kept an attendant of Herculean strength, to hurl into the waves beneath his villa the wretches whom he had thus possessed of his secret thoughts and practices. Among these none was so eminent as Thrasyllus, and accordingly the position of none was so perilous. The astrologer saved himself by an ingenious device. Undoubtedly it required no occult science to divine the cruel intentions of so jealous a patron, nor in his moody humours to read the thoughts which occupied him. One day Thrasyllus was observed to betray sudden perturbation and terror. When Tiberius inquired the cause, he declared that his art had just revealed to him that he was at that moment in imminent peril. Tiberius, conscious that he had just been meditating his companion's destruction, was struck with this proof of his skill in divination, embraced him with transports of delight, and gave him increasing marks of his confidence. When his own turn came to watch anxiously from the cliffs the arrival of a messenger from Rome, whom he expected to bring his own death-warrant, Thrasyllus, on descrying the vessel, declared that, on the contrary, he was the bearer of good tidings. The conjecture was again fortunate. Tiberius was suddenly summoned from his exile to the favour of Augustus, and even to the prospect of empire.[1]

[1] These stories are referred to by Suetonius, *Tib.* 14., and Dion, lv. 11. They are gravely attested also by Tacitus, *Ann.* vi. 20, 21. The appearance of an eagle, a bird which was never known to visit Rhodes, was hailed as a favourable omen. The occurrence is ingeniously handled in an epigram of Apollonidas, *Anthol. Græc.* ii. 135., ed. Brunck.

Conscious of his error in pretending for once to act with independence, Tiberius now sought to retrieve it by entire submission to his chief's wishes. At Rhodes he had entreated that an officer might be appointed to watch him, and report all his words and actions. On his return, under the condition imposed by Caius that he should abstain from public affairs, he renounced the mansion of Pompeius, which he had formerly occupied in the frequented quarter of the Carinæ, and courted seclusion in the more distant gardens of Mæcenas.[1] His only public act was to introduce his son Drusus, on coming of age, to the citizens in the forum; he surrendered himself to complete retirement, associated with the poets and grammarians, studied sentimental and erotic versifiers, and employed himself in composing an elegy on the death of Lucius Cæsar.[2] But when the decease of the surviving brother opened to him again a public career, and he was assured that the republic demanded his assistance, his long-restrained activity quickly revived. He accepted a mission to the German frontier, along which a general war of attack and defence on either side had been raging for three years.[3] Since the last campaign he had conducted in this quarter, the Romans had ac-

On his return from Rhodes, he abstains from all public affairs.

[1] Suet. *Tib.* 15.: "Romam reversus statim e Carinis et Pompeiana domo Esquilias in hortos Mæcenatis transmigravit." This fact deserves to be noticed as a trait of manners. The life of public men in Rome was so thoroughly public, their doors standing open from the earliest hour for the throng of clients and attendants, that the removal of a few hundred paces from the centre of social movement was not without political significance. The dwellings of the great men of the republic had always been in the immediate vicinity of the forum. It was part of Mæcenas's modest policy to make choice of a suburban locality.

[2] Suet. *Tib.* 70.: "Composuit et lyricum carmen cujus est titulus: conquestio de L. Cæsaris morte." For his taste in poetry, and his admiration of the Greek writers of the class of Euphorion, Parthenius and Rhianor, see the same author, *l. c.*

[3] Vell. ii. 104.: "Bellum quibusdam in locis gestum, quibusdam sustentatum feliciter."

quired substantial advantages beyond the Rhine. The command of the legions had devolved upon Domitius, the son of the Antonian renegade, a man of energy and boldness, who had plunged into the heart of Germany, crossed the Elbe, and planted on its further bank an altar to Augustus, as a pledge of the amicable relations he had succeeded for a moment in establishing with the natives.[1] By the construction of a road across the heaths and morasses of the Lippe valley, he had connected the frontiers of Gaul with the outposts of the empire on the Weser. He had also transplanted the Hermunduri into the vacant seats of the Marcomanni, who had quitted their old habitations about the sources of the Danube, for a domicile in the remoter region of Bohemia. It seems, however, that Domitius had been unsuccessful in his demand on the Cherusci, to receive back some exiles of their nation; and in quitting the province without chastising this affront, he had perhaps subjected the Roman authority to contempt. Vinicius, who succeeded to his command, found himself involved in a formidable war, for the conduct of which he was rewarded with the triumphal ornaments; but had he performed any considerable exploit it is not likely that a favourable historian, such as Velleius Paterculus, would have failed to specify it.[2]

Expeditions of Domitius in Germany, and of Vinicius.

Tiberius quitted Rome for the frontiers in the summer of 757, and entered at once on the work before him. The events of this invasion are not known to us; but the powerful force he commanded seems to have speedily

Tiberius in Germany A. D. A. U. 757.

[1] Tac. *Ann.* iv. 44.: "Domitius flumen Albim exercitu transcendit, longius penetrata Germania quam quisquam priorum." Velleius, it will be seen, assigns this honour to his hero Tiberius.

[2] Dion, lv. 10; Vell. *l. c.* M. Vinicius was the grandfather of the friend to whom Velleius addresses his work. It is to be observed, however, that he seems systematically to depreciate the predecessors of Tiberius in the German command.

quelled resistance, and the only record of his exploit remains in the names of the tribes which are said to have now submitted to him, the Bructeri, the Caninefates, the Attuarii, and Cherusci, lying between the lower Rhine and the Weser, a district which the Roman arms had already penetrated in every direction. His operations were prolonged, perhaps, by the means he took to secure conquests so often partially effected, until the middle of December, some months beyond the usual military season in that severe climate; and when he left the army to revisit Rome, he fixed its winter quarters at the sources of the Lippe, on the confines of the forest of Teutoburg.[1] From this point he meditated a deliberate advance in the ensuing year, and his object in now recrossing the Alps may have been to extort from the growing timidity and reluctance of Augustus permission and means for an enterprise on a grander scale. Returning accordingly to his legions early in the spring of 758,

A. D. 5.
A. U. 758.

he organized a combined expedition by land and sea, by which the wants of the invading army might be supplied, and its baggage and machines of war transported by water into the heart of the enemy's country. Reserving for himself in person the conduct of the main body of his forces in light array across the wilderness, he directed a numerous flotilla, long since prepared on the Rhine, to follow in the course explored by Drusus, along the shores of the Northern Ocean; to penetrate to the mouth of the Elbe, and ascend its yet unknown waters, till the armaments should meet together in an appointed latitude.[2] This remarkable combina-

[1] Vell. ii. 105.: "In mediis (Germaniæ) finibus ad caput Luppiæ fluminis:" advanced, therefore, considerably to the east of Aliso.

[2] Vell. ii. 106. This remarkable statement deserves to be given in full: "Denique quod nunquam antea spe conceptum, nedum opere tentatum erat, ad quadringentesimum milliarium a Rheno usque ad flumen, Albim, qui Semnonum Hermundurorumque fines præterfluit

tion was actually carried into execution according to the directions prescribed; and the praises lavished upon it by Velleius, who shared himself in its hazards, cannot be regarded as too warm for so memorable an achievement, the most remarkable for the success of its far-sighted arrangements of any recorded in ancient military history. It is much to be regretted that we should know so little of its details, which, if fully presented, would give us ample insight into the resources of the Roman power.[1] We only know that the advance of Tiberius had been triumphant, and perhaps unresisted. In the lack of victories to celebrate, his encomiast vaunts the merit, unusual in a Roman general, of sparing the lives of his soldiers, and exposing himself to no unnecessary risk.[2] But to Velleius the future emperor was a demigod, and his deeds divine[3]; and he records with enthusiasm the veneration with which the barbarians regarded him.[4] While the army was

Romanus cum signis perductus est exercitus; et eodem mira felicitate et cura ducis, temporum quoque observantia, classis quæ oceani circumnavigaverat sinus, ab inaudito atque incognito ante mari flumine Albi subvecta, plurimarum gentium victoria, cum abundantissima rerum omnium copia, exercitui Cæsarique se junxit." The point of junction is left quite indeterminate. It seems hardly credible that the Roman flotilla can have ascended the stream to the latitude of the Lippe, or the confluence of the Elbe and Saale.

[1] The battering train of a Roman army was generally little less cumbrous than modern artillery: but in moving through a country where there were no stone fortifications, it is probable that this was in a great degree dispensed with. Nevertheless the provision for the conveyance of the men's baggage must have been on an immense scale, even in their lightest array.

[2] Vell. *l. c.*: "Sine ullo detrimento commissi exercitus."

[3] Vell. ii. 94.: "Cœlestissimorum ejus operum per annos continuos novem, præfectus aut legatus, spectator, pro captu mediocritatis meæ adjutor fui."

[4] There is something far more natural, and not less interesting, in the historian's account of the joy with which the veterans hailed their old leader's return to military life. (ii. 103.) "Videmus te, imperator? salvum recepimus? ac deinde, ego tecum, imperator, in Armenia, ego in Rhætia fui; ego a te in Vindelicis, ego in Pannonia, ego in Germania donatus sum!"

encamped on the left bank of the Elbe, and the natives, retreating before them, were collected in force on the other, an aged chief put off from the further side in a canoe, and from the middle of the stream addressed the strangers, demanding leave to cross in safety, and behold the person of their leader. Conducted to the tent of the imperator, he surveyed him for a time with silent admiration, and exclaimed, *What madness is this of ours, to contend against the unseen divinities, and not humbly to seek their presence and make submission to their benign authority! But I, by the grace of Cæsar, have this day seen a god, a privilege I never before attained nor hoped to attain.* Thus saying, he sought permission to touch the hand of the divinity; and as he paddled back across the stream still turned his face towards the Roman bank, with his eyes fixed constantly upon him.[1] It is obvious to remark, that if the story be true, the scene might have easily been arranged, by the prince's flatterers, to confirm the allegiance of the native chiefs attending in his camp. But the children of the German forests were fully prepared to accept the divine character of the great and powerful among men, and the altar recently erected on their soil had already attracted votaries among them. This expedition, however remarkable in its circumstances, had no more important results than those which preceded it. Once only had the Germans ventured to measure their strength with the advancing legions, when they paid for their rashness by a signal discomfiture: nevertheless the Romans, on retiring in the autumn, had left behind them no permanent impression of their successes.

These repeated advances, however, with the speedy retreat and proffered submission of the natives, though

[1] Vell. ii. 107. Compare an epigram of Martial, v. 3.

far from having the character of conquests, could not altogether fail in extending the influence of Rome throughout a great portion of central Europe. They inspired a strong sense of her invincibility, and of her conquering destiny; at the same time they exalted the respect of the barbarians for the southern civilization, which could marshal such irresistible forces at so vast a distance from the sources of its power. Accordingly the young chiefs of the Rhine and Elbeland crowded to Rome, to learn her lessons of government on the spot; while many of their followers and dependents settled within her walls. The views of Tiberius extended to the complete subjugation of the whole country before him; but he had not the military ardour of the conqueror of the Gauls, nor was he pressed for time like the rival of Pompeius: he could afford to wait upon events, and leave the consummation of his policy to be developed hereafter. Meanwhile, the position to which he had been elevated rendered him almost independent of the scruples of Augustus, whose discreet and dilatory system he was able, when he chose, to overrule. This hesitation, indeed, on the emperor's part was not inadequately justified by the circumstances of the time. Augustus perceived but too clearly the goal to which affairs were tending, the unchecked preponderance of the military power. The mercenaries now enlisted under the Roman eagles began to clamour for increased pay and privileges, and to remonstrate against the protracted servitude to which they were condemned by the reluctance of the citizens to embrace the profession of arms. The nobles and men of fortune, the strength of the ancient legions, were fully employed, by the cautious but self-defeating policy of the emperor, in the civil business of the state; while the populace, from whom Marius and Cæsar had not

The influence of Rome extended by these repeated invasions.

Augustus hesitates in the prosecution of the conquest of Germany.

disdained to recruit, were contented with the dole of public corn, and refused to earn their bread under the austere discipline of the camp. Augustus, when he looked around him, might perceive that this was but one of many symptoms of the decline of national spirit, and the failure of his elaborate scheme for reconstructing the nation. To many it might seem a trifling matter, that he was now obliged, for want of legitimate candidates for the Vestal priesthood, to admit the daughters of freedmen to that dignity; nevertheless it betrayed but too plainly, to the clear view of the imperial reformer, the loss of an element of power in the decay of a venerable tradition.[1] At such a moment the acquisition of a new province with its burdens and obligations was hardly a matter of felicitation; but the Jews had complained so loudly of the tyranny of Archelaus, that Augustus was induced to summon him to Rome, and thence relegate him to Vienna in Gaul, while he satisfied the demands of his people by annexing his dominions to the empire.[2] It was now necessary to keep a regular force stationed in the strong places of Judea; but even the means of paying the soldiery at home had become a question of difficulty. Augustus largely contributed to the public service from his private resources; he encouraged his allies also to bestow their liberality in the same manner; yet he refrained from soliciting, nor would he even accept, the subscriptions of individual citizens. He was glad perhaps to profit by a transient necessity for the imposition of a permanent charge on the Roman people, who, since they had been relieved from the land-tax, were jealous of any encroachment on their cherished immunity. While he decreed the levy of one-twen-

[1] Dion, lv. 22.

[2] Joseph. *Antiq.* xvii. 13. 2., xviii. 2. 1. Judea was made a province in the last half of the year 759; in the tenth year of Archelaus's government. Dion, lv. 27.; *Bell. Jud.* ii. 7. 3.

tieth upon the succession to property, he invited the senators to recommend any other tax they deemed more eligible; well assured that while many of them would be eager to submit to his own view, those who ventured to dissent from it would neutralize their opposition by the conflict of opinions among themselves.[1]

Movements of the Marcomanni.

To return, however, to the northern frontiers, to which our eyes have been so frequently directed, we may observe that, within a very recent period, a remarkable revolution had taken place in the interior of Germany, which must be ascribed to the influence of a single chief. The designation of Marcomanni had been given by the western tribes to a Suevic clan, settled, as their name imports, on the march or border of the German territory.[2] They formed the advanced guard of the nation in its struggles to extend westward, and to penetrate through the defiles of Helvetia into the pastures of Gaul. But the restoration of the Helvetii by Cæsar, and the subsequent intrusion of Gaulish and Roman settlers on the right bank of the Rhine, seem to have harassed the Marcomanni, and made them dissatisfied with possessions which they could not maintain inviolate. They were induced by the authority of their chief Maroboduus, or Marbod, to remove in a body eastward: crossing the Mons Gabreta or Erzgebirge, they poured into the district of Boiohemum, the *homes of the Boii*,

[1] Dion, lv. 25.

[2] This is one of the earliest and clearest indications of the radical identity of the German language of the first and the nineteenth century. The Marcomanni are evidently the men of the marca or limes, the line which divides one territory from another. Zeuss, *die Deutschen*, &c. p. 114. Another derivation assigned, is from markir, a wood. But this word is itself derived from marca. Zeuss refers to Grimm, *Rechtsalterthüm*. p. 497. Some writers Germanize Maroboduus into Marbod. But the meaning of this word is not obvious, and here and elsewhere I have generally preferred the Latin as the only authorized form.

and established themselves in the broad, lozenge-shaped valley of the Moldau and Upper Elbe. Within this territory, entrenched in a circumvallation of mountains, and doubly defended by rocks and forests, the great South-German empire was rapidly reared under the sway of its spirited chieftain, who had profited by the lessons he had learned in an early residence at Rome.[1] Flanked by the Narisci on one side and the Quadi on the other, the Marcomanni and their allies confronted, along the whole line of the Upper Danube, the garrisons of Noricum and Vindelicia. Maroboduus maintained a regular force of seventy thousand foot and four thousand horse, armed and disciplined after the Roman model; and these troops, while still unmolested by the southern invaders, he had exercised in reducing his German neighbours, and consolidating his wide possessions. If at an earlier period the Marcomanni had retired before the aggressions of the Roman power, they now no longer pretended to fear it: the provincials who fled from the tyranny of the proconsuls found an hospitable reception beyond the Danube; while in the discussions which ensued, the envoys of Maroboduus were instructed to alternate a tone of deference towards their formidable rivals, with the boldest assertions of equality and independence.[2]

The kingdom of Marubo-duus, in southern Germany.

The German nations placed themselves for the most part under the lead of a single chieftain, whom the Romans were accustomed to describe by the general designation of king. But the power of this chief was limited on all sides by prescriptive usage, and the authority of force and numbers. A political education at the capital of the

Maroboduus compared to Pyrrhus and Antiochus.

[1] Vell. ii. 108.: "Maroboduus . . . . . certum imperium vimque regiam complexus animo."

[2] Vell. ii. 109.: "Legati quos mittebat ad Cæsares interdum ut supplicem commendabant, interdum ut pro pari loquebantur."

empire was ill-suited to the heir of such a sovereignty as this. No sooner had Maroboduus returned to his own country, than he aspired to a loftier eminence above the jealous control of his armed peers. The crisis in the fortunes of his nation furnished an opportunity for securing the object of his ambition, and he seems to have acquired a much more absolute sway than his people had before admitted. This was the circumstance which made him peculiarly formidable to the Romans. The imperators on the frontiers had hitherto profited far more by the divisions of their enemies, than by the vigour of their own arms. Accordingly, when they beheld for the first time a nation of warriors arrayed under the control of a single hand, they felt deprived of their wonted advantage, and reduced to contend on equal terms with an opponent whose strength and courage might compensate for inferior discipline. Hence it was that they compared the king of the Marcomanni to Pyrrhus and Antiochus, and declared that he was not less dangerous to their own empire than the Macedonian Philip had proved to Athens.[1] They added that the frontiers of his kingdom and dependencies extended to within two hundred miles of Italy: it was more important to observe that the interval was occupied by half-conquered foreigners, ready to hail with acclamations the advance of a German deliverer. But the despotism of Maroboduus was in fact a source of weakness rather than of strength; for it tended to separate his interests from those of the brave warriors of the north, and divided into two jealous camps the great Teutonic nation.

Campaign of Tiberius against the Marcomanni. A. D. 6. A. U. 759.

At the commencement of 759, Tiberius had exchanged his post on the Rhine for the command of the legions on the sister-stream of the Danube. Preparations had been made

[1] Tacitus (*Ann.* ii. 62.) puts this declaration, at a later period, into the mouth of Tiberius.

for a grand attack on the Marcomanni, whose insolence, as the Romans designated it, had afforded sufficient pretext for a declaration of war. The chief station of the Romans in this quarter was at Carnuntum, the gate of western Europe, where her greatest river issues from the hills of the Celt and Teuton into the plains of the Scythian and Sarmatian. At this important post, which served to overawe both Noricum and Pannonia, a force, which may be estimated at six legions, was collected for the projected invasion. Tiberius, placing himself at their head, proceeded to lead them westward, in order to meet an army of not inferior strength which Saturninus was bringing from the Rhine, cutting his way with spade and axe through the heart of the Hercynian forest. The boldness of this movement must be allowed for an instant to arrest our attention. There was not, indeed, much apprehension of any armed opposition being made to it. The Suevic tribes, through whose territories it would be directed, had for the most part abandoned their homes; and a large portion of the track it followed lay within the undisputed domain of the wilderness. But when we consider how ignorant the Romans were of these savage regions, the rudeness of their methods of exploration by sea or land, and the gloom of the pathless forest which they had to traverse without even the compass for their guide, we must confess that the forethought and methodical arrangement which could insure the meeting of two armies from such distant points at an appointed spot, was not less admirable than the just self-confidence which ventured to rely on them. It is not quite clear, from the meagre account of our historian, whether this spot was on the right bank of the Danube or the left. The latter seems, however, the more probable. Tiberius crossed the river at Carnuntum, and struck in a north-westerly direction towards the frontiers of Bohemia. He had arrived

within five marches of the enemy's border; and Saturninus was at the same moment at no greater distance from it on the opposite side. Whatever might have been the further result of the arduous campaign in prospect, this combination, which for its magnitude and precision deserves to be compared with that which we have recently admired, had, in fact, virtually succeeded, when Tiberius was disconcerted by the report of an insurrection in Pannonia. The provincial garrisons had been drafted from their camps, and the natives, who had groaned under the exactions of the Roman administration, finding themselves relieved from the accustomed pressure of military force, sprang with vehemence to arms. With his prey almost in his clutches, and a victory in prospect more magnificent than any since those of Aquæ Sextiæ and Vercellæ, Tiberius was too discreet to hazard for his own glory the peace and safety of the empire. He offered terms to Maroboduus, who, with less discretion, was eager to accept them. The Roman armies were ordered to retreat simultaneously, and they regained their provinces at least without dishonour.[1]

He is recalled by an insurrection in Pannonia.

The nations through which the flame of rebellion had spread counted, according to a loose calculation, eight hundred thousand souls; the warriors in arms, whose force might be more accurately estimated, were computed at two hundred thousand infantry and eight thousand horse.[2]

General outbreak of the Pannonians, Dalmatians, and Illyrians.

[1] Dion. lv. 28.; Vell. ii. 112.: "Tum necessaria gloriosis præposita, neque tutum visum, abdito in interiora exercitu, vacuam tam vicino hosti Italiam relinquere." Tac. *Ann.* ii. 46.: "Conditionibus æquis discessum."

[2] This, it will be remembered, is nearly the same proportion of fighting men to a whole population as that which was recorded among the Helvetians. These provinces had been for several years under the Roman dominion, and the population may have been numbered for purposes of administration. In such a case the slaves were probably omitted from the account.

Their numbers, however, were not so formidable as the union they maintained among themselves, and the concert which might be apprehended between them and the various tribes from the Adriatic to the Euxine. The immediate cause of this revolt was the raising of levies by Messalinus, the imperial legate, for enlistment in the army of the Danube. But the warriors of the northern provinces were not generally averse to the risks and glories of Roman service, and it was rather the tyranny of the government which always pressed most harshly on the subjects whose loyalty was least assured, that drove them to the desperate resource of insurrection. The Dalmatians and Illyrians, the nearest to Italy, whose long resistance, though productive of few great men or great events, was deemed worthy of detailed recital by the historiographer of the enemies of Rome, were led by chiefs whose names, Bato and Pinnes, have been preserved to us.[1] They attacked and overpowered some cohorts stationed in their own country, then turned southward, assaulted Salona on the Adriatic without success, and marched southward as far as Apollonia, to check perhaps the advance of reinforcements from Greece. At the same time a Pannonian chief, named also Bato, attempted to carry the strong post of Sirmium; and though he was repulsed and defeated by Cæcina on the Drave, the loss of the Romans was such as almost to convert his defeat into a victory. The readiness with which the Pannonians had learnt, not only the habits and language, but the tactics of their conquerors, made them peculiarly formidable. No nation, it was affirmed, that had ever opposed the Romans, had so well weighed its resources, or seized more warily the moment for exerting them. The rout of the local garrisons, the extermination of the

[1] Dion, lv. 29. Besides the "Civil Wars" of Rome, Appian wrote the "Affairs," that is, the "contests with the republic" of the Illyrians, the Macedonians, and the Carthaginians.

Roman colonists, the abortive attack upon Sirmium, were only preludes to an organized and general combination against the foreign intruders. On the one hand, the Dacians and Sarmatians were encouraged to attack the extreme right of the Roman line on the Danube; on the other, preparations were made for penetrating into Italy itself by the route of Nauportus and Tergeste.[1]

Consternation at Rome. Alarm of Augustus

The accessibility of Italy upon this side, where her mountain barrier sinks most nearly to the level of the plains, was at all times a matter of anxiety to her rulers. Augustus, shaken by years and dispirited by family losses, forgot that the rear of the enemy was pressed by the armaments of Tiberius, and exclaimed, with petulant vexation, that ten days might bring them to the gates of Rome. The consternation became general. In earlier times the republic had disdained to maintain a defensive force before the walls of the capital. Every citizen in those days was a soldier, every father of a family was a veteran of many campaigns. Rome could never be taken by surprise. But the vast change in her social circumstances had produced no alteration in her material defences. Italy was allowed to remain denuded of regular troops, and her children shrank from a service to which they were unaccustomed and averse. It required a strong appeal to their fears to support the vigorous measures which seemed requisite for their safety. The veterans were summoned from their estates; the heads of every household, male or female, were required to furnish

[1] Vell. ii.110.: "Pars petere Italiam decreverat, junctam sibi Nauporti et Tergestis confinio." Nauportus is evidently from its name the station of a flotilla, such as the Romans maintained on some of their great frontier rivers. It must have stood on the banks of the Save, near Æmona, the modern Laybach. D'Anville supposes it to be Ober-Laybach, on the eastern declivity of the Carnian Alps. The ancient as well as the modern road from Italy lay through these places.

a contingent of freedmen for military service; senators and knights were bid to unbar the doors of their factories, and pour forth their slaves, whom the state enfranchised before putting arms into their hands.[1]

State of affairs at Rome.

Whatever apprehensions the emperor may have felt at this moment, they were probably excited not so much by the hostility of the barbarians beyond the Alps, as by the disquietude which had for some time prevailed at Rome. It can hardly be said that the citizens had any particular distress to complain of, beyond the occasional recurrence of scarcities and inundations. Nevertheless, their complaints were becoming louder and more frequent. Augustus had yielded to their outcries and redoubled his largesses. To rid the city of its superfluous consumers, he had ordered that the gladiators and the slaves exposed for sale should be removed to a hundred miles' distance. He set the example of dismissing a portion of his own household; and he gave the senators permission, long jealously withheld, to quit Rome for their estates.[2] But fresh causes of discontent arose with the same harassing results. Fires broke out in the city in quickly recurring succession. Again the people murmured, as if their chief were responsible for assaults of every element. Under despotic governments, incendiary fires have been employed to arrest the attention of the rulers to the wants of their subjects, and it is not impossible that the hands of

Discontent of the populace manifested in various ways.

[1] Vell. ii. 111. Comp. Dion, lv. 31. It must be observed that Velleius speaks in much stronger terms than Dion of the anxiety of this crisis, and may fairly be suspected of exaggerating it from his known disposition to flatter Tiberius. Nevertheless, Suetonius, no flatterer of Tiberius, or of any other of the Cæsars, could declare that Rome had experienced no such dangers since the period of the Punic wars. *Tib.* 16.: "Quod gravissimum omnium externorum bellorum post Punica per quindecim legiones paremque auxiliorum copiam triennio gessit."

[2] Dion, lv. 22, 23, 26.; Oros. vii. 3. A. U. 758, 759; Fischer, *Roem. Zeit.*

citizens themselves may have caused the conflagrations they now resented. This, however, was the origin of the nightly watch of the city, a police formed in the first instance from the emperor's own freedmen, and meant to serve a temporary purpose, but soon found too useful, both to the public service and the imperial interests, to be abandoned.[1] Such long neglect of so obvious a precaution shows strongly the power of the aristocratic element in the old constitution. The nobles, secure in their isolated dwellings on the hills of Rome, had no concern for the frail and crowded tenements of the commons, and let matters take their course with frigid indifference.[2] But notwithstanding these concessions made to the popular cry by the patron of the people, the discontent of the citizens was little appeased. They had become tired of their favourite. Augustus had grown old and morose; his figure had lost its grace, his government its brilliancy. The smoothness with which the machine of empire moved allowed men to forget how easily it might be disarranged, and how fatal might be the consequences of disturbance. The mildness of the administration encouraged the murmurs of the discontented, and many an aimless muttering of change was heard in the familiar talk of a thoughtless populace.[3] Seditious placards were posted at night in the public places. The origin of these demonstrations was said to be traced to a certain Plautius Rufus, a noble of no personal distinc-

[1] Suet. *Oct.* 30.; Dion, lv. 26.

[2] The history of this subject is given briefly by Paulus in the *Digest*, i. 15. 1. "Apud vetustiores incendiis arcendis triumviri præerant, qui ab eo quod excubias agebant nocturni dicti sunt. Interveniebant non nunquam et ædiles et tribuni plebis. Erat autem familia publica circa portam et muros disposita, unde si opus esset evocabatur. Fuerant et privatæ familiæ qui incendia vel mercede vel gratia exstinguerent."—The service was thus left to the occasional energy of the magistrates or to private enterprise. "Deinde D. Augustus maluit per se huic rei consuli." Reimar on Dion, *l. c.*

[3] Dion, lv. 27.: καὶ πολλὰ μὲν καί φανερῶς νεωτερόποια διελάλουν.

tion; it was believed, however, that he was only an instrument in the hands of concealed agitators.[1] Suspicion and apprehension everywhere prevailed; and these were increased rather than allayed by the inquiries of the government, which offered rewards for the discovery of the guilty and obtained numerous denunciations. A scarcity, with which the city was threatened, contributed to aggravate alarm, which only departed with the return of plenty and security;

Good humour restored by the games of Tiberius.

when good humour was restored by the games of Tiberius and the young Germanicus in honour of the still lamented Drusus. Still greater was the delight universally manifested when Tiberius inscribed his deceased brother's name, in conjunction with his own, on the temple he now dedicated to the twin-deities, Castor and Pollux.[2]

Alacrity of the citizens in obeying the directions of Augustus.

But scarcely had this cloud passed away, and Tiberius returned to the attack on Maroboduus beyond the Danube, than the news arrived of the great Pannonian revolt, which had broken out in his rear. Fortunately, abundance reigned at this moment in the city, and while the supply of their simple necessaries was abundant, the populace was never dangerous to the government which maintained it in idleness. Anxious as Augustus must have been, at such a crisis, with the possibility of a domestic insurrection to complicate and aggravate it, he might be reassured by the trembling eagerness with which all classes now joined in obeying his directions for their common safety. The

[1] Suet. *Oct.* 25.; Dion, *l. c.*

[2] This dedication (Suet. *Tib.* 20.) seems to have taken place early in the spring of 759, when Tiberius was again at Rome for a few months before proceeding to the campaign on the Danube. Dion, lv. 27., who adds, *τά τε γὰρ τῶν πολέμον ἅμα διῴκει, καὶ ἐς τὴν πόλιν, ὁπότε παράσχοι, συνεχῶὲς πεφοίτα, τὸ μέν τι, πραγμάτων τινῶν ἕνεκα, τὸ δὲ δὴ πλεῖστον, φοβούμενος μὴ ὁ Αὔγουστος ἄλλον τινὰ παρὰ τὴν ἀπουσίαν αὐτοῦ προτιμήσῃ.*

citizens submitted to the fresh imposition of a fiftieth on the sale of slaves; and these repeated recognitions, however trifling in amount, of their liability to share the burdens of their subjects, served to confirm an important principle. They marked, in a way which no politician could mistake, the equalization of all classes under the rising monarchy of the empire.

The young Germanicus in Pannonia. A. D. 7. A. U. 760.

The new levies, hastily raised and equipped, were entrusted to the command of the youthful Germanicus, who had now nearly completed his twenty-first year.[1] The name he bore and the favour which already attached to him, marked him as a fitting leader for this popular armament: and Augustus beheld with satisfaction in the third generation of his family, qualities, both of mind and person, which augured the highest distinction. This was the more consolatory to the bereaved grandsire, as the next in years of the Cæsarean house, entitled not less from his name than Germanicus to the love of the soldiers, though placed in the same line of succession with him, seemed to offer no such happy promise. This was Agrippa Postumus, the youngest child of Julia, born after his father's decease, on whom, as nearest to him in blood, the affection Augustus had lavished on Caius and Lucius might now be expected to devolve. But from some defect of breeding if not of temper, the last of the Agrippas grievously degenerated from his kindred. Ungainly in person, and awkward in every gesture, he seemed unsusceptible, both in mind and

Disappointment of Augustus at the defects of Agrippa Postumus.

[1] The younger Germanicus, son of Nero Claudius Drusus, to whom the title of Germanicus was assigned after his father's premature death, was born A. U. 739, probably in September. He was now despatched on his first campaign in the summer of 760. Dion, lv. 30. His prænomen is not ascertained; it was probably the same as his father's. Nero, which was originally a cognomen, became at this time a prænomen of the Claudian house. Suet. *Claud.* 1.

body, of the training suitable to his station. Docility, both moral and physical, was a quality to which the Romans attached peculiar importance. They considered a plastic nature the great mark of distinction between the gentle and the base, the free and the servile character; and as regarded his own family, Augustus was no doubt peculiarly sensitive on this point, which seemed to touch on his imperial mission: for the beauty of his own person, and the fineness of his intellect, constituted a powerful element in his claim, as well as in that of the divine Julius, to reign over the free Roman people. That any of his descendants, whom he had himself reared or adopted, should prove unworthy in manners or appearance of the ambrosian blood of their parent Venus, pierced him to the quick. He considered it as a personal disgrace, implying some defect on his own part; and he could not bear that such a failure should be manifested in the face of his admirers. To this sentiment the unfortunate but guilty Julia had been partly sacrificed: Agrippa, even more unfortunate, was at least guiltless. The worst that could be alleged against him was that his manners were what the Romans contemptuously designated as *servile:* he had neither the martial nor the literary spirit of the true optimate. Instead of devoting himself to the mimic war of the Campus Martius or the mimic debates of the rhetoricians' schools, he would recline in the shade of a Baian portico, and listlessly angle in the placid waters beneath it. For the triumphs of his rod and line he claimed, it was said, the attributes of Neptune, an assumption which had been deemed abominable even in Sextus, when he ruled supreme over the Tyrrhene and Ionian, and was master of a thousand triremes.[1] Doubtless vigilant enemies were not wanting to insinuate that his

[1] Dion, lv. 32.

wanton mother had played false to her husband, and suffered the turbid blood of a plebeian paramour to mingle with the Julian ichor. Of all the direct descendants of Augustus this youth remained alone to dispute with the Claudian branch of the Cæsarean stem the honours which were now almost assured to it. The intrigues of Livia did not sleep in the last crisis of the long contest she had waged against the claims of the rival race. If, as was reported, Agrippa allowed himself to use the language of exasperation against her, we may well believe that he at least gave credence to the current stories of her machinations and crimes. But it is added that, in his bursts of uncontrolled passion, he did not spare Augustus himself, whom he accused of depriving him of his legitimate patrimony, by the acceptance of his father's legacy.

Banishment of Agrippa Postumus.

To make such a charge as this against the man who was able, and naturally willing, to indemnify him far beyond any loss he had sustained, was an act of stolid perversity; and such was the character generally, and we must suppose not unjustly, attributed to Postumus.[1] The emperor determined, with one last pang, to rid himself of the embarrassment of so unworthy a claimant on his favour. He caused him to be arrested and carried to Planasia, a barren rock off the coast of Ilva, and there detained as a state prisoner. This extreme act of parental authority towards a child who had already assumed the toga, and was accused of no crime, he caused the senate to ratify by a decree, in which its motives were explained, and justified no doubt by ancient precedents.[2] Having nerved him-

[1] Tac. *Ann.* i. 3.: "Rudem sane bonarum artium et robore corporis stolide ferocem." Vell. ii. 112.: "Mira pravitate animi atque ingenii in præcipitia conversus." Suet. *Oct.* 65.: "Ingenium sordidum et ferox."

[2] Tac. *Ann.* i. 6.: "Multa sævaque Augustus de moribus adolescentis questus, ut exilium ejus senatus consulto sanciretur perfecerat."

self with fortitude thus to violate his feelings for the common weal, as he imagined, perhaps more truly as a sacrifice to his own pride, he turned with the yearnings of disappointed affection to the object on which his hopes were now beginning to centre, the fair promise of the gallant Germanicus. The appointment of this young prince to his first military command gave scope to talents and a disposition not unworthy of Drusus the well-beloved. Before the end of the year he had worsted one of the Dalmatian tribes, while Tiberius, returning from the Danube, reoccupied Pannonia with an overwhelming force. The chiefs of the insurgent armies had taken advantage of his absence to move eastward, in order to intercept the forces which Severus, who commanded in Mœsia, was bringing up from that quarter. They had succeeded in meeting him, and had compelled him to await their onset in his camp, near the Palus Volcea, or lake of Balaton, but they were unable to force his well-defended entrenchments. Failing in this attempt, they found themselves pressed by the Roman arms on three sides, and falling back on a country which was no longer able to support them, they suffered the extremes of famine and pestilence; yet when at last they sued for peace, they still sued with arms in their hands, and in an attitude of defiance, with which the Roman leader disdained to parley. More than once, it was asserted, did Augustus declare himself satisfied, and exhort Tiberius to conclude a war which he suspected him of purposely protracting.[2] But Tiberius knew, per-

High promise and first successes of Germanicus.

Dion. lv. 32. Suetonius states that he was first relegated to Surrentum; afterwards, "nihilo tractabiliorem immo in dies amentiorem in insulam transportavit, sepsitque insuper custodia militum." Suet. *l. c.*

[2] Suet. *Tib.* 16.: "Quanquam sæpius revocaretur, tamen perseveravit, metuens ne vicinus et prævalens hostis instaret ultro cedentibus." Comp. Dion, lv. 31.: ὑποπτεύσας ἐς τὸν Τιβέριον, ὡς δυνηθέντα μὲν διὰ ταχέων αὐτοὺς κρατῆσαι, τρίβοντα δὲ ἐξεπιτηδές.

haps, the inveterate hostility the Roman government had provoked, as well as the resolution of his opponents. When the Dalmatian Bato was led captive into his presence, and was asked what had induced him to revolt, and to persist so long in a desperate struggle, *It is your own doing*, he boldly answered, *who send not dogs or shepherds to protect your sheep, but wolves to prey on them.* Dalmatia, however, says the historian, returned to her obedience, partly by conquest and partly on capitulation.[1] Nevertheless the gallant Bato, who seems to have been released on his pretended submission, once more defied the conquerors. When another Bato, the chief of the Pannonians, sought the favour of the Romans by betraying his colleague Pinnes, the Dalmatian turned his arms against the traitor, and speedily overpowered and slew him. The Pannonians now rose once more against the invaders; but exhausted and dispirited by their own divisions, they were easily reduced. Bato himself did not refrain from plundering allies who could serve his hopeless cause no longer. Keeping hold of the passes of the mountains between Pannonia and his own country, he continued to maintain his personal independence; but it was the independence of a brigand chief, no longer of a national leader. The war dwindled into the chase of a cunning fugitive from post to post, and ceases from henceforth to occupy a place in history. The pacification of the great province between the Adriatic and the Danube was not finally completed by Germanicus till the autumn of the year 762.[2]

Final subjugation of the Pannonians and their allies. A. D. 9. A. U. 762.

Meanwhile, deprived of the consoling presence of all his nearest kinsmen, the emperor had begun, in the solitude of his palace, to find the cares of sovereignty

[1] Dion, lv. 33, 34.; Vell. ii. 110—116.
[2] Dion, lvi. 11—17.; Zonaras, x. 37.

insupportably onerous. He ventured by degrees to cast aside a portion of the overwhelming responsibilities to which he had subjected himself. The senators, at whose meetings he had attended with scrupulous punctuality, were now allowed to determine many matters in his absence; he desisted from the habit of appearing in person at the mock elections of the Comitia; while from the year 760, when the votes had been interrupted by popular disturbances, he directed all the magistrates to be chosen on his own immediate nomination. The anxieties of the Pannonian war drew him from the city as far as Ariminum, and the citizens offered vows for his safety on his departure, and of thanksgiving on his return, as if he had undergone the perils of a foreign campaign. Satiety had left him weary and restless: his cheerful and collected temper gave way under repeated alarms and accumulated vexations. After disarming the animosity of noble intriguers by unexpected clemency, he found himself struck at by the hands of bondmen and adventurers. His life was attempted by an obscure slave named Telephus, whose brain was heated with the imagination that he was destined to reign. Audasius, a convicted forger, and Epicadus, a foreign freedman, sought to carry off Agrippa Postumus and Julia from their exile, and put them at the head of a seditious movement.[1] This event, the date of which, however, cannot be fixed precisely, may have determined the emperor to inflict banishment upon another member of the same hapless family. Julia had left behind her at Rome, besides Caius and Lucius, and the wretched Postumus, two daughters, a Julia and an Agrippina. The first of these had been married to L. Æmilius Paulus, grand-nephew

Mortifications of Augustus.

Fresh conspiracies against him.

[1] Suet. *Oct.* 19.

of the triumvir Lepidus, the head of the house which might still be considered the noblest in Rome; while the other, who was younger, perhaps by some years, was united to her kinsman, Germanicus, apparently about her own age. The Æmilii continued for several generations to betray the pride of race which could ill brook the ascendancy of a Julius or a Claudius.[1] The son of the triumvir had perished, as we have seen, for aiming at the subversion of the emperor's power; and the husband of Julia was now doomed also to suffer on a charge of conspiracy. The exact period of this treason is not known, nor is its punishment specified. The culprit was confined or banished: his wife, whose irregularities were numerous and notorious, allied herself with D. Silanus, and was convicted of adultery. Silanus was in turn charged with treasonable aspirations, with what result we know not; but the crime of Julia, which brought scandal as well as danger on the imperial house, was punished by relegation to an island. Augustus was deeply affected at this outbreak of the evil blood of the mother in the next generation. Though it was recorded, as a proof of parental feeling, that he never suffered one of

Banishment of the younger Julia. A. D. 9. A. U. 762.

[1] The irregular ambition hereditary in the Æmilii is noted in some lines of a very late writer, which the historical student may do well to remember. Rutil. *Itiner.* 295.

"Inter castrorum vestigia sermo retexit
 Sardoam, Lepido præcipitante, fugam . .
Ille tamen Lepidus pejor, civilibus armis
 Qui gessit sociis impia bella tribus . . .
Insidias paci moliri tertius ausus
 Tristibus exegit congrua fata reis.
Quartus Cæsareo dum vult irrepere regno
 Incesti pœnam solvit adulterii."

The last of these cases refers to a later period, and will be recorded in its place. The Æmilius of whom we are now treating is not mentioned in these lines, because he bore the cognomen Paulus. See the stemma of the Æmilii in appendix to chapter l.

his own race to be put to death, he forbade the offspring of this hateful amour to be reared, and, reflecting with indignation on the vices of both the Julias, exclaimed, in the language of Homer, better he had never been married and had died childless.[1]

Banishment of the poet Ovid.

The silence of history throws a veil over the latter years of Augustus, and has, doubtless, buried many acts of morose severity, on which no citizen ventured to consign his comments to writing. The recollection, however, of one example of the kind, which may be regarded as a type of the imperial tyranny at this period, has been casually preserved. If the personal freedom of the citizen was still guarded by the laws, and the accused still competent to defend himself before the ordinary tribunals; if advocates were still bold and judges honourable, there were, nevertheless, powers beside the laws, which had found a way of dispensing with their application, in cases where their interference might prove inconvenient. When the emperor wished to rid himself of a disagreeable citizen, he directed him to remove from Rome to some distant spot indicated to him; and such was the authority of his mere word, that without defence, without trial, without sentence, without the use or even threat of force, the culprit at once obeyed, and plunged silently into oblivion. The emperor might, if he pleased, appease public curi-

[1] Tac. *Ann.* i. 6.: "In nullius unquam suorum necem duravit." Suet. *Oct.* 65., quotes from the Iliad, iii. 40.:

αἴθ' ὄφελον ἄγαμός τ' ἔμεναι, ἄγονός τ' ἀπολέσθαι.

In the original the expression is addressed by Hector to Paris,—

αἴθ' ὄφελες ἄγονός τ' ἔμεναι, ἄγαμός τ' ἀπολέσθαι :

the word *ἄγονος* evidently meaning "*never born;*" but Augustus, I presume, or at least his biographer, understood it differently. The date of the younger Julia's banishment is fixed to 761 by Tacitus, *Ann.* iv. 71.: and Suetonius tells us that her place of confinement was the island of Trimerus, off the coast of Apulia.

osity by declaring the cause of this sudden removal; but the mere act of his will required neither the concurrence nor the ratification of any legal tribunal. Such was the celebrated exile of Publius Ovidius Naso, a popular favourite, whose abuse of his noble gifts might seem calculated to disarm a tyrant's jealousy, and even secure his approbation. This illustrious poet, familiar to our childhood under the cherished name of Ovid, was a man of fashion and figure, the son of a Roman knight of Sulmo, who had been introduced to the best society of the capital, and had succeeded in establishing himself there by the charm of his writings and the dexterity of his adulation. He was undoubtedly a writer of uncommon genius, of a fertility and invention unsurpassed by any of his countrymen, and little inferior to any in language and versification. His various compositions comprehend many pieces of unsullied purity and grace, which are still the first pages of antiquity we put into the hands of our children, and among the last on which we turn the retrospect of our own declining years. But Ovid had desecrated his abilities by the licentiousness of many of his subjects, and the grossness with which he treated them: he had thrown himself on the foul track of far inferior men; who sought the favour of the government by inculcating frivolity of sentiment, and degrading the character of their countrymen. It may be said, perhaps, in excuse for Ovid, that he erred from mere gaiety of heart, stimulated by the applause of greatness and beauty: he says of himself, and his protestations are not unworthy of belief, that his verses were purer than those he imitated, and his manners purer than his verses.[1] His amatory poems were principally the

Character of his poetry.

[1] See his elaborate but by no means satisfactory excuses in the second book of *Tristia*.

work of his earlier years, and the maturity of his powers had been devoted sedulously, nor with less felicity, to subjects of wider scope and higher interest.[1] While thus honourably engaged, suddenly at the close of the year 761, he was bade to depart from Rome, and the obscure town of Tomi, on the wild shores of the Euxine, was denoted as the place to which he should transport himself.[2] A few hours only were allowed him to prepare for the journey, which was to remove him for ever from his home, his friends and family. He was exiled, unheard and unarraigned, and the cause of his banishment was only vaguely indicated by a complaint against the pernicious tendency of his love verses. The poet of intrigue and gallantry had a wife, to whom he was as tenderly attached as the severest of the old Roman censors; but she was forbidden to accompany, or to rejoin him. A single friend ventured to break the agonies of parting, by

[1] Since the publication of the *Ars Amandi*, which may be fixed to the year 752, he had laboured on the wonderful epic of the *Metamorphoses*, in which, though he never veils the licentiousness of mythological story, he had at least no immoral purpose; and on his versified rationale of the national calendar, which, with a few incidental blemishes, is on the whole a model of Roman dignity. The former of these works was completed but not finally corrected at the moment of his banishment, and was given to the world with some imperfections; of the latter, the six books we possess were probably finished, and the remaining six perhaps only rudely sketched out. Though Ovid speaks of the twelve books as written, "Sex ego fastorum scripsi totidemque libellos," he says, nevertheless, that the work was interrupted by his disgrace; and, as he complains that he had no books with him at Tomi, and was unable to study, it seems very improbable that a work which required so much research could have been resumed under such unfavourable circumstances. Nor in all his writings at Tomi does he ever allude to it as in progress.

[2] Ovid, *Trist.* iv. 10. He had at this time, as he informs us, completed his fiftieth year: "decem lustris omni sine labe peractis." He was born March 20, 711, at the epoch of the battle of Mutina, and his banishment took place in December of 761. *Trist.* i. 11. 3. See Fischer in *Ann.* Clinton is to be understood in the same sense, though, from some confusion in his arrangement, it requires considerable attention to detect his real view.

attending him during the first days of travel; and he too fell a victim, not long afterwards, to the tyrant's fatal suspicions. While the scions of the imperial family, who might perhaps some day be recalled, were retained in durance within sight of the Latian coast; the unfortunate knight, as if to preclude all hope of pardon, was cast out on an unknown frontier, many hundred miles distant. We observe with an awful sense of the emperor's power, that the island of Planasia or Pandateria, past which whole fleets sailed daily, was deemed a prison out of which no criminal could break: but our awe is enhanced on hearing that a citizen condemned to banishment on the frontiers of the empire should simply receive an order to repair there, and be left to find his way, perhaps even unattended, without fear of his lingering on his route or diverging from it.[1]

Fruitless speculations on the cause of this banishment.

The cause of this cruel punishment was surely not that which Augustus thought fit to assign. It seems to have been of a nature which he could not venture to declare openly: had it been an offence against public morality, he would have claimed merit for making it the subject of a public arraignment. Though the sufferer bows to his sentence, and acquiesces discreetly in the charge which he knows to be fictitious, his allusions point plainly to some other cause, well known to Augustus and to himself, the possession apparently, and possibly, as he protests, the innocent possession, of some fatal secret. The conjectures which have been made re-

[1] Ovid records with some minuteness the stages of his long journey by sea and land, but gives no intimation that even a single officer was deputed to guard and conduct him. Nor does he seem to have been under any restraint at Tomi. The inhospitable character of the neighbourhood may have been considered a sufficient pledge for his not attempting to escape. It seems, however, that some exiles contrived to avoid going to their places of banishment. Augustus animadverted with no great severity upon them. Dion, lvi. 27.

garding it may be readily dismissed as groundless. The surmise that he had been detected in an intrigue with the elder Julia, and that she was in fact the lady to whom he addressed his love verses under the name of Corinna, though derived, perhaps, from nearly contemporary sources, is refuted by the evidence of dates.[1] The only clue, as it appears, to guide our inquiries is the coincidence of the time with the disgrace of the younger Julia, and with the treasonable attempts with which that event seems to have been connected. When, at a later period, Fabius Maximus, a man of political consequence, falls under the emperor's displeasure, the unfortunate exile, in a burst of sorrow, would fain take the blame on himself, as if his own error had been important enough to involve in its consequences the fate of his noblest friend. Putting these circumstances together, it seems natural to suppose that Ovid, though no public man himself, got unwittingly implicated in the political intrigues of the time, and suffered as an accomplice in projects, of the scope of which he was perhaps actually unconscious.[2] From the scene of his punish-

[1] The only ground for this popular but untenable hypothesis, is the misinterpretation of a passage in Sidonius Apollinaris:

"Et te carmina per libidinosa
Notum, Naso tener, Tomosque missum,
Quondam Cæsareæ nimis puellæ
Falso nomine subditum Corinnæ."

Even could it be shown that Julia was meant by the name of the poet's mistress Corinna, and that he did really intrigue with her, it would not follow from this passage that he was banished on that account. The punishment of Julia preceded that of Ovid by nine years. But he had sung the praises of Corinna almost twenty years before the first of these dates. The name was probably a mere poetical abstraction. It may be admitted, however, that Sidonius refers to a tradition of great antiquity, derived from the appearance of the *Art of Love* about the period of the elder Julia's disgrace.

[2] See the well-known deprecation, *Trist.* ii. 103., quoted below, and *Epist. ex Pont.* ii. 2.:

"Nil nisi non sapiens possum *timidusque* vocari;"

which, taken together, seem to imply that he had shrunk from di-

ment, on the verge of the inhospitable Dobrudscha, dreary and pestilential now, but then alternating the frosts of the Neva with the fevers of the Niger, the wretched victim poured forth his misery in verses of grace and sweetness, though of little power: he murmured at the loss of every friend and amusement, at the rudeness of the people, and hostility of their savage neighbours, while he shuddered at the sight of the frozen Euxine, or shivered in the agues of the Danubian marshes.[1] A gleam of reviving cheerfulness induced him at more favourable moments to cultivate the hospitality of the natives, and to flatter them by acquiring their language and even writing verses in it; but neither lamentations nor industry availed to soothe the bitterness of his sorrows, which were only for a moment allayed by anticipations of future celebrity; and he continued in vain to solicit with abject humiliation the compassion of the offended emperor. Though his punishment was not strictly exile, but only the milder form of relegation, which allowed him to retain his fortune and his citizenship, and admitted the hope of eventual pardon, he never obtained remission of his sentence, though he survived Augustus three years.[2]

So well known and so deeply feared was the

vulging some important circumstance which had come accidentally to his knowledge. Dunlop, *Hist. Rom. Lit.* iii. 363. The extravagant adulation of Augustus and expressions of personal devotion which abound in the writings from Tomi, may have been meant as an atonement for a political fault.

[1] Tomi, the spot of Ovid's exile, is supposed to have been at, or very near to, the modern Costendje.

[2] See this explained in the *Tristia*, v. 11.:

"Nec vitam nec opes nec jus mihi civis ademit . . . .
Nil nisi me patriis jussit abire focis . . . .
Ipse relegati, non exsulis, utitur in me Nomine."

The date of Ovid's death, A. U. 770, or early in 771, in his sixtieth year, is established by Euseb. *Chron.* ii. p. 157., and the Auctor *Vitæ Ovid.* Fischer *in ann.* 767. Comp. Clinton, *Fast. Hell.* iii. 275., *Fast. Rom.* i. 5.

emperor's resentment, from whatever cause it proceeded, that the sufferer's friends seem to have been deterred from interceding for him. They cowered with the rest of the citizens under the suspicious tyranny which pretended to have done the state a service in robbing them of the favourite ministers of their pleasures. The Loves and Graces might seem to have fled from the city of Venus with the banishment of Ovid and the Julias, the one the high-priest of Gallantry and Dissipation, the others the most distinguished of their devotees. The pretence of a regard for public morals was derided in secret by the rising generation of sensualists and triflers. They thought it hard to be deprived of their amusements to satisfy the scruples of a worn-out debauchee, or to glorify the cold correctness of an unamiable prude. When Ovid, in an unguarded moment of mythological reverie, chose to liken his mysterious crime to the misfortune of Actæon, who had startled the shiftless Diana, the Romans were too clever in pasquinade not to seize on an obvious innuendo; nor could it be left to the ingenuity of a modern to be the first to suggest that he had discovered the empress naked in her bath.[1] It is not

Silent discontent of the people.

[1] Ovid, *Trist.* ii. 103.:

"Cur aliquid vidi, cur noxia lumina feci?
Cur imprudenti cognita culpa mihi?
Inscius Actæon vidit sine veste Dianam:
Præda fuit canibus non minus ille suis."

Dryden has the merit of the conjecture founded on these lines, but it seems impossible it could have escaped the malicious wit of Ovid's own contemporaries. Another notion is, that he had surprised the emperor himself in some grave indecorum. I have seen a disquisition to prove that his real offence was his having too nearly divulged the meaning of the Eleusinian mysteries. The peccant passage is in the *Metamorphoses*, xv. 368.:

"Pressus humo bellator equus crabronis origo est:
Concava litoreo si demas brachia cancro,
Cætera supponas terræ, de parte sepulta
Scorpius exibit, caudaque minabitur unca:"

The reader will be rather inclined to complain that if he really knew the secret, he has been only too successful in concealing it.

improbable that some of the bitter lampoons against the emperor's private habits, specimens of which have been preserved by Suetonius, date from this reign of mortification and terror.

State of popular feeling at that period.

The closing years of a long and prosperous reign have not unfrequently been clouded with popular discontent. Even the subjects and courtiers of a despotism become wearied at last with hearing their sovereign styled the Just, the Beneficent, or the Fortunate. The court of Augustus indeed had never pandered by meretricious brilliancy to the tastes of vulgar gentility, and accordingly, in respect to show and ornament, the setting of the imperial sun suffered no eclipse. The prince of the Roman people had presided over the national intelligence. He had sought to educate his subjects by the patronage of literary merit, and by his graceful recognition of some of the best objects of national interest had even created a genuine appreciation of them. But the era of Virgil and Horace, of Varius and Pollio, had quickly passed away; the Cæsar no longer blandly countenanced, with Mæcenas at his side, the social intercourse of the wisest and most genial of the Romans. The last years of the age, familiarly styled the Augustan, were singularly barren of the literary glories from which its celebrity was chiefly derived. One by one the stars in its firmament had been lost to the world: Virgil and Horace, Tibullus and Propertius, Varius and Plotius had long since died; the charm which the imagination of Livy had thrown over the earlier annals of Rome had ceased to shine on the details of almost contemporary history; and if the flood of his eloquence still continued flowing, we can hardly suppose that the stream was as rapid, as clear, and as fresh as ever. And now the youngest of its race of poets seemed to extinguish in his disgrace the last spark of its admired brilliancy. If the remembrance of their early enthusiasm for the beauty and genius of

Octavius, the father of his country and the saviour of the state, still survived to temper the dissatisfaction of the Romans at the gloom of his declining years, no such tender feelings interfered to modify their disgust at the pretended virtues of his consort, or the ill-disguised haughtiness of her son. Their feelings were lacerated by the successive loss of so many amiable princes, in each of whom they beheld a victim to the machinations of this detested pair; they murmured at the untoward destiny of the still living children of Agrippa; but they turned with the freshness of a hope which no disappointments could blight, no evil auguries overshadow, to the opening promise of the gallant Germanicus, the last of the national favourites. A spring, summer, and autumn had passed with nothing to dispel the general dissatisfaction except an occasional rumour of successes in Pannonia, and assurances, often repeated, but never yet fulfilled, of speedy pacification. At last, to the delight of the citizens, the young hero brought in person the news of the final subjugation of the enemy, from which they hoped for a long relief from levies and exactions. The senate decreed the honours of a triumph to Tiberius, and appointed two arches to be erected at conspicuous spots within the conquered territory. The triumphal ornaments were at the same time granted to Germanicus: he was placed in the rank of prætors, and invited to speak in the senate next in order to the consulars.[1] The restrictions of age were relaxed in his behalf, that he might attain the consulship without delay. But the celebration of the imperial triumph, and the jubilee

[1] The triumphal ornaments, the empty distinction henceforth accorded to the emperor's successful lieutenants, consisted in an ivory staff surmounted by the figure of an eagle, a curule chair or stool, a golden crown, an embroidered mantle, a laurelled statue. Sacrifices were offered, with a *supplicatio*, on the occasion, and the victor was allowed to receive the title of Imperator.

of the Roman people, were frustrated by the disaster which is now to be related.[1]

Extension of the Roman government between the Rhine and the Elbe.

The uneasiness of the popular mind might be taken as a presentiment of the calamity which was impending. Within five days from the restoration of tranquillity on the Save and Drave, the empire sustained a shock in the north, which, had it happened but a little sooner, must have torn from it either of its Rhenish or its Danubian possessions. The countries between the Rhine and Weser, or even the Elbe, the ocean and the Mayn, had been reduced by the repeated enterprises of Drusus and Tiberius to complete subjection. When Tiberius quitted this region, in the year 758, the tribes comprised within these ample boundaries appeared to have submitted placidly to the yoke. It only remained, apparently, to establish among them the system of provincial administration, according to the forms which had proved so generally efficient elsewhere. The success indeed of the Roman arms in this quarter had been such as to prove that they had lost none of their ancient temper in the hands of the existing generation. The legions had penetrated the whole country in every direction; the war-galleys had swept the coast and stemmed the current of the fleetest rivers; military posts had been established in proper localities, and their communications secured by permanent roadways.[2] The courage and conduct of the soldiers, the firmness of the Romans, and the devotion of the allies, had shown no decline, while

[1] Dion, lvi. 17. Suet. *Tib.* 17.: "Triumphum ipse distulit, mœsta civitate clade Variana."

[2] Such were the fortresses of Aliso on the Lippe, and Burchana (Borkum) at the mouth of the Ems. Vestiges of Roman fortifications are still traced in the range of the Taunus-gebirge in Nassau. Niebuhr believed that remains of the original Roman roads still exist in the north of Germany, in the wooden causeways of great antiquity which crossed the marshes and heaths in that quarter. *Rom. Hist.* v. lect. lviii.

the means of armament and supply had been brought to such perfection, that their movements had been more extended, their combinations more unerring, than in any previous campaigns. Bold and obstinate as the Germans had proved in their long resistance to such well-appointed adversaries, the effect of this organized valour had been overwhelming. By force or persuasion all the northern tribes seemed to be gained to the empire. The Frisii and Chauci had merited the distinction of admission to alliance with Rome, which knitted them more firmly to her interests, by making them objects of jealousy to their less fortunate brethren. The Batavi, in the island between the Rhine and Waal, served with ardour as cavalry in the Roman armies. Their neighbours the Caninefates were subdued. The Usipetes and Tenctheri on the right bank of the Rhine were overpowered; while the Bructeri, the Cherusci, the Chatti, and the Sigambri had only escaped this fate by the care with which they had avoided a conflict with the invaders, who had established themselves as conquerors throughout their territories. Emigrants and colonists had followed in the wake of the legions; various channels of commerce had been opened with the natives, who began to relax from their attitude of defiance, and showed a desire to imbibe the lessons of civilization; Germans, noted for their big limbs, blue eyes, and fair complexion, became conspicuous among the nations which thronged the streets of Rome; and the Sigambrian women ministered to the caprice of fashion by selling their flaxen locks to decorate the sallow brows of the Italian matrons.[1]

Fancied security of the Roman administration in Germany.

The vigilance of Augustus seems for a moment to have slumbered in allowing his latest conquest to remain in an anomalous, and, as it proved, a precarious position. There

[1] Ovid, *Amor.* i. 14. 49.:
"Nescio quam pro me laudat nunc iste Sigambram."

were two ways in which, according to the maxims of the time, such an acquisition might be governed. The one was the policy of coercion, exemplified in the case of the Pannonians and Dalmatians, whom the conquerors sought to crush into obedience by riveting on them the weight of the provincial administration, with its civil and military governors, its judicial and fiscal intendants, and the whole apparatus of official tyranny. There was the policy of severe exactions, rigorous conscriptions, and wholesale confiscations. We have just witnessed the fearful result which might follow from such a system in the desperate revolt which had thrown Rome into consternation. This, however, was the method not unusually adopted wherever the Romans feared the martial spirit of the conquered; and though, as in Spain, it gave rise to repeated outbreaks, it was nevertheless generally successful, at least in the end. The other was the policy which Cæsar had adopted in Gaul. His own views indeed were personal rather than national; he aimed at making the Gauls useful servants to himself, rather than submissive subjects to Rome. But the lenity with which he treated them, the amount of freedom he allowed them, the lightness of the tribute he imposed on them, sufficed to effect both his own object and that of the state he professed to serve. The Gauls continued faithful from gratitude, or at least from contentment, not to Cæsar only but to Rome herself. But the Transrhenane territory was governed on neither of these principles. It was neither crushed as a province nor cherished as an ally; certainly no peculiar harshness was exercised upon the Germans. They had offered little opposition to Drusus or Tiberius; if they had not voluntarily submitted, they had at least retired before their advancing legions. Some of them had evinced a temper more than usually tractable. The Romans felt themselves secure in the heart of Ger-

many, as they had never felt in Gaul, Spain, or Pannonia. While year by year the proconsuls were waging interminable war against the obscure barbarians of Mœsia and Mauretania, the Germans, whose strength and courage, and not less their genius and understanding, were especially vaunted, seemed not only to submit without resistance, but to conform with unexampled alacrity to the ideas of the invader. Such was the security of the Romans that their cohorts were suffered to be scattered through a number of petty posts far asunder. Their winter stations grew from the concourse of new settlers to the dimension of colonies, but without their defences. The Germans flocked to the stated markets; and though not without a sense of uneasiness and vexation, seemed prepared to abandon one by one every feature of their native habits.

Quintilius Varus, commander in Germany.

It was the part of a prudent ruler to encourage this self-abandonment, but by no means to precipitate it by pressure. The utmost discretion was required in the commander who should succeed Tiberius, and receive the subjugated Germans from their conqueror to instruct and civilize. No more important selection had the emperor to make since he appointed Mæcenas to the government of Italy, or sent Agrippa to control the turbulence of the mob in the city. And not only was it important to choose the legate well; it was necessary, moreover, to give him distinct instructions, and while allowing him latitude in the choice of his means, to prescribe definitely to him his mode of treatment. In all these particulars Augustus seems to have failed. The prefect he selected was a man of no special ability; as the recent governor of the tranquil province of Syria, where he had too quickly enriched himself, he had learnt by easy success to despise both the provincial subject and the imperial government, the one for submitting to his extortions

the other for conniving at them.[1] L. Quintilius Varus was an official pedant. Transplanted to the heart of Germany, placed at the head of an army, but without the ordinary machinery of civil government, he conceived the idea of forcing the formalities of the provincial administration, its tribunals, its police, and its fiscal charges, on people who had hitherto been allowed to tax and govern themselves.[2] Had the emperor given him specific instructions to this effect, he would at least have guarded the experiment by proper military precautions. Had he, on the other hand, forbidden such an experiment to be hazarded, Varus would not have ventured to disobey. But left, as it would seem, to his own caprice by the oversight of his aged chief, he chose to disregard the usual habits of the service, and pretended to sheathe the sword while he imposed upon the Germans the yoke of servitude. While the ancients throw all the blame of what followed upon the incapacity of Varus, and some moderns impute it rather to the indiscretion of Augustus himself, we shall be more correct perhaps in dividing it between them.

His indiscretion irritates the Germans. A. D. 9. A. U. 762.

Notwithstanding the ardour or levity with which the German chiefs had accepted service under the foreigner, and the satisfaction they had felt in partaking of its glittering distinctions, many doubtless among them still watched an opportunity of rising against their masters. The precipitation with which Varus threw off the mask which concealed the harsher features of Roman domination could not fail to inflame their thirst for independence. The tedious and intricate forms of Roman law perplexed and disgusted them; but personal freedom, and exemption from blows, still more

[1] Dion. lvi. 18. Vell. ii. 117.: "Pecuniæ quam non contemptor Syria, cui profuerat, declaravit, quam pauper divitem ingressus, dives pauperem reliquit."

[2] The command of Varus in Germany dates from A. U. 759.

from capital punishment, was the birthright of the free German; and when a Roman official in the reckless exercise of power inflicted dishonour where he meant no more than a slight admonition, the stroke of the lictor's rod left a rankling wound. Still the spirit of the Germans might have been gradually tamed, had not their own mutual jealousies hastened the outbreak. It was usual for the ruler of a province to make a summer progress through his dominions, fixing his camp and tribunal at various spots successively to acquaint himself with his subjects and their resources, and brandish over all in turn the terrors of the axe and rods. During these excursions the troops which occupied a secure and peaceful country were allowed for the most part to remain in their quarters, the safety of the proconsul not requiring their attendance on himself. But Varus was not so neglectful of his own security. He led forth the three legions under his orders; and as he advanced from place to place he was attended by the chiefs of the country, who either commanded auxiliary cohorts or played the courtier in his prætorium. Among the most distinguished of these were the leaders of the Cherusci, the brothers Segimerus and Segestes. Segimerus had a son named Arminius, who had offended his uncle Segestes, by carrying off his daughter.[1] They had all enrolled themselves in the Roman service; Arminius had received the citizenship, and been promoted to the equestrian order. But Segestes was much in the proconsul's confidence, and Arminius, conscious of his animosity towards himself, might apprehend the

Segestes and Segimerus, chiefs of the Cherusci.

[1] Of Arminius, almost the only German of this time whom we can invest with a distinct personality, there will be much to record hereafter. The Germans take a pleasure in designating him as Hermann, (Heer-mann), "the general;" but this derivation does not seem certain enough to induce me to forego the satisfaction of attaching a proper name to so distinguished a hero.

effect of his hostile representations. While his father, his uncle, and a brother, who had caused himself to be adopted into a Roman house, all attached themselves with sincerity to the party of the foreigners, Arminius devoted himself to their overthrow. He was the favourite of his countrymen, not for his bravery only but for his conduct: he was both eloquent in speech and prompt in action, qualities in which the Germans were inferior to both the Gauls and Romans. He was a man of bold and lofty spirit, capable of imparting the enthusiasm which he felt himself. He intrigued with the chief men of various tribes, and brought them readily into his views. They besieged the proconsul with demands for military aid in various quarters, to overawe their unconquered neighbours or to repress the outrages of banditti. Varus was persuaded to detach cohorts and squadrons from his main body which were speedily overpowered and cut off. But before these disasters were known Segestes had detected and denounced the conspiracy. Varus had advanced to the Weser, and was meditating perhaps an incursion in the broad plains extending to the Elbe, through which Tiberius had recently carried his eagles. At this moment the enemy, who had laid their toils in his rear, spread the report of an outbreak in the south of the province, and induced him to turn his front in that direction.[1] From the confluence of the little stream of the Werre with the Weser, or the entrance perhaps of the gorge known by the name of the Westphalian Gates, he had to retrace his steps across a wild tract of wooded hills which separates the Weser from the sources of the Ems and Lippe, the last offset from the moun-

Arminius intrigues against the Roman power.

[1] That this reported outbreak was in the south, among the Chatti, is conjectured from that being the direction of the expedition of Germanicus at a later period. Hoeck, *Roem. Gesch.* i. 2. 96. foll.

tains of central Europe, before they die away in the sandy flats of Lower Germany. The general elevation of this region is inconsiderable, but its eminences are separated by narrow valleys, the bottoms of which were choked with morasses, while their summits were clothed with dense forests.[1] The tracts which traversed it, for the Romans had not taken the precaution of building a permanent way through it, were sufficiently practicable in dry weather, but with the close of summer the season of storms and rain was at hand. Varus was unconscious of these perils. He announced his intention of marching in quest of the reputed delinquents. The night before he was to set out, Segestes, who was at supper with him, declared that the report was false, and that he was falling into the snare of traitors in his own camp. He desired to be kept in custody himself till the truth of his disclosures should be proved. But the proconsul paid no regard to the warning. The conspirators, to lull him into security, pretended to quarrel among themselves, and flattered him by appealing to his decision between them.

Varus advances into the forest of Teutoburg.

The rain had set in before the march began, and the advance of the troops was from the first impeded by the elements. The hostility of the natives, no longer disguised, soon added to their difficulties. At this critical moment Varus had the weakness to let Arminius and other chiefs quit the camp, under pretence of bringing up reinforcements. They quickly marshalled the swarming hordes, and pressed the rear and flanks of

Varus is attacked on his retreat.

[1] The Teutoburger and Lippischer Wald, the Saltus Teutoburgensis of Tacitus (*Ann.* i. 60.), extends N.W. a space of seventy or eighty miles, and may be described as a tract of parallel hills in broken chains with flat marshy hollows between them, so that in crossing them from N.E. to S.W., more than one stage was to be traversed, each consisting of a level swamp with a defile at either end.

the enemy with repeated assaults. The proconsul, still blind to the treachery around him, contented himself with summoning the disturbers of his repose before his tribunal. The answer to his childish menaces presently arrived in the news that the insurrection had spread through the country, and that the establishments of the Roman power had been forced in every direction. The army was encumbered with quantities of baggage, besides women and children, which it was soon out of its power to protect. This ignominious loss served at last to awaken Varus to a sense of his peril. While still involved in the swamps and woods through which he was making for the open country to the south, he felt the necessity of striking directly westward, so as to reach Aliso, and his communications with the Rhine. Aliso lay but a few days' march to his right, but the tracks of the forest were probably guarded against him, and he must either explore a more circuitous path or force his way through all obstacles. The carriages and remaining baggage he ordered to be burnt, and pushed hastily forward. The weather continued unpropitious. The soil was soft and slippery; the rain rusted the men's spear-heads, soaked their leathern accoutrements, and swelled their wooden shields; the wind threw limbs of large trees across their path, which possibly the enemy had sawn half through beforehand.[1] Before they had pitched their first encampment, the Romans had been roughly handled by the enemy, who now closed upon them to prevent their escape. That night they traced their lines with failing strength and spirit. In the morning they staggered on with diminished numbers, and already they had almost lost the appearance of a legionary

[1] Dion, lvi. 20.: *καὶ τὰ ἄκρα τῶν δένδρων καταθραυόμενα καὶ καταπιπτόμενα διετάρασσον.* The explanation is a conjecture of Luden's (*Gesch. Deutschlands*, i.), which is perhaps superfluous.

force. They had emerged, however, now from the woods, and had gained the open upland of swamp and moor, which slopes from the hill-country to the valleys of the Ems and Lippe. But the enemy meanwhile had increased in numbers and confidence. Redoubling their attacks, they pressed the fugitives on every side. The soldiers had no reliance on their imperator, and as he lost his control over them, Varus lost equally all command over himself. Remembering the example of his father and grandfather, who, it seems, had both put an end to their own lives[1], he threw himself in despair on his sword. So did many of his officers. The soldiers, deprived of their leaders, were butchered without organized resistance. The cavalry escaped from the field only to be hunted down at a distance. The Germans had taken their measures well. Not more than a few stragglers escaped from the terrible destruction.[2] In the space of three days, three entire legions, horse, foot, and auxiliaries, were annihilated; their arms, stores, and accoutrements, were destroyed; their eagles were retained as trophies.[3]

And finally overpowered with the loss of three legions.

The incompetence of Varus for his post is manifest from his having left no reserve at Aliso. We have seen how, under circumstances nearly similar, the remnant of the legions of Crassus was saved by the arrival of succours in its rear, and similar aid should have now too been at hand. But the triumph of the Germans was secure. They could afford time to gloat over their trophies, to slaughter their captives on altars erected in the

A small remnant escape to the Rhine.

[1] Vell. ii. 119. The occasions are not mentioned.

[2] There is a gap in the 22nd chapter of Dion, which is to be supplied from Zonaras, x. 37.

[3] Florus, iv. 12., says that one of the three eagles was saved: but we read of the recovery of two in Tacitus, *Ann.* i. 60., ii. 25., and of the third in Dion, lx. 8.

woods, with every circumstance of cruelty and derision, and to search for the body of Varus, whose head they sent to Maroboduus, as an incentive to rise against the common enemy. Aliso, which was held by a handful of men, together with the few fugitives from the bloody field, was invested with overwhelming numbers; but the Germans had not the means of conducting a siege. The Romans were soon pressed with hunger; but they deceived the enemy by a stratagem, and threw him for a moment off his guard, by which they profited to sally from their entrenchments and make a rush for the Rhine. The temptation of booty diverted the victors from the pursuit, and thus the last fragment of the Roman power in Germany was saved from the general wreck.[1]

Spirited conduct of Augustus.

Terrible as was the loss of so many officers and so fine an army, with the destruction of flourishing settlements, and the slaughter of multitudes of citizens and allies, the Romans on the Rhine had no time for mourning. The shout of triumph on the one bank was sure to find an echo on the other; the victory of Arminius might be expected to raise a general revolt both of Germans and Gauls within the Gaulish provinces. The energy of Asprenas, who commanded two legions in this quarter, averted this anticipated disaster. Flying to the river bank, and receiving with open arms the straggling fugitives from Aliso, he assumed so bold an attitude as to daunt both the Germans in his front and the Gauls behind him. Arminius contented himself with effacing from his own soil the

[1] Frontinus, *Srateg.* iv. 14. Aliso was probably destroyed. It is one of the very few historical stations of the Roman armies which it is impossible to identify with any modern locality. Roman remains have been found in some spots of this neighbourhood, particularly, it is said, at Elsen, a small village on the Lippe near Paderborn. I should be inclined, however to look for it a good deal nearer to the Rhine, and Hamm has been already mentioned as a not improbable locality.

traces of Roman domination; but he met with no encouragement to cross the border, nor did Maroboduus respond to his summons by arming. This supineness saved the Romans. The news of the disaster roused Augustus once more to energetic action. Alone, or at least supported only by his son Tiberius, he manfully confronted the danger, and prepared to overcome it. He caused the city to be patrolled by guards, or placed it, as we should say, in a state of siege, as a precaution against domestic disturbances. He directed the prefects throughout the provinces to retain their imperium, lest a change of administration might shake in any quarter the tottering fabric of the empire. At the same time he sought to reassure the citizens by vowing solemn games to Jupiter for the public security, an act of faith such as was deemed to have protected the state from the assault of the Cimbri and the Marsi.[1] The citizens, however, seem for the most part to have been sunk in the profoundest apathy. They had already ceased to feel either for the successes or the disasters of the chiefs who had usurped all the pleasures as well as the pains of sovereignty. They hesitated to inscribe their names on the roll for military service, and the emperor was forced to stimulate their patriotism by fines, and even by threats of capital punishment. The levies which he was enabled to raise by ballot from the veterans and freedmen, were sent forward as fast as they could be collected. Yet it was not without some misgivings that Rome saw herself thus denuded of defenders. Such was the panic of the government that even the handful of Gauls and Germans residing within the walls caused it grave disquietude. Some squadrons of these foreign auxiliaries had been admitted into the ranks of the imperial bodyguard. These were all now disarmed and dismissed from the

[1] Suet. *Oct.* 23.: "Vovit et magnos ludos Jovi Opt. Max. si respublica in meliorem statum vertisset."

city, while such as seemed most obnoxious to suspicion were removed to the state prisons.[1]

The year 763 opened in gloom and amidst all the bustle of these extraordinary preparations. On the 16th of January, Tiberius dedicated a temple of Concord, inscribing on its front the names of himself and his brother Drusus, an act which the citizens may have construed as a pledge of his parental care for Germanicus.[2] In the course of the spring he reached himself the head-quarters on the Rhine. Even in Gaul some symptoms of insubordination had manifested themselves, but these Tiberius quelled as he advanced. It was a work of time to replace the material of war which had been annihilated in the late disaster; the new levies required training, the old soldiers were discouraged, and could hardly be trusted in the field. The Germans, on their part, did not venture on aggression, and the year passed without hostile movements on either side.

Tiberius goes to the Rhine. A. D. 10. A. U. 763.

With the commencement, however, of the following year the Roman equipments were complete, and it was necessary to adopt offensive operations, and convince the enemy that the spirit of the empire was not cowed by the blow it had sustained. Germanicus was in the camp with his uncle, burning with youthful ardour for revenge and glory. It was well for his future distinction that he was required under Tiberius to temper courage with prudence, and learn the art, most difficult to a young commander, of sparing his own men, and economizing his resources. We have admired more

Bloodless campaign of Tiberius in Germany. A. D. 11. A. U. 647.

[1] Dion, lvi. 23. Suet. *Oct.* 49.: "Dimissa Germanorum manu quam usque ad cladem Varianam inter armigeros circum se habuerat."

[2] *Kalend. Prænest.* (Orelli, *Inscrip.* ii. 383.) "xvii. Kal. Febr. Concordiæ Augustæ ædes dedicata est P. Dolabella C. Silano cos.' Comp. Dion, lvi. 25. Concordia Augusta may refer to the happy harmony now established between the members of the imperial family, and between the various orders of citizens also.

than once the breadth and boldness of plan which distinguished the campaigns of Tiberius, though his operations were always conducted with caution, and he never risked defeat by presumptuous temerity. But now his army was not perhaps thoroughly to be relied on; a single check might completely demoralize it, and it was the last force the state could send into the field. The excessive care and anxiety he now showed in his preparations, limiting the amount of baggage, enforcing the strictest discipline, exercising the utmost personal activity and vigilance, yet seeking constantly the support of councils of war, prove how deeply he felt the gravity of the occasion. With so large a province to recover, so many nations to reduce, so great a disaster to avenge, he confined himself to ravaging a few fields and burning a few habitations, in which he lost not a man.[1] The Germans, on their part, were not seduced into rashness by sudden success. They declined to meet the invader in the field, while he abstained from attacking them in their strongholds. After traversing the open country, for a few weeks perhaps, in various directions, Tiberius withdrew slowly behind the Rhine, only careful to secure his retreat from interruption. Tiberius had already earned a triumph for his victories in Pannonia; he forfeited it by no misadventure in Germany.

A. D. 12. A. U. 765.

On his return to Rome he was at last enabled to celebrate the solemnity which had been so long delayed.[2] The citizens, assured that their arms had penetrated again into the recesses of the formidable North, and that every foe had fled before them, were satisfied with this new proof of their reputed invincibility, while the con-

[1] Comp. Vell. 120. Suet. *Tiber.* 18. 19. This writer observes particularly "semper alias sui arbitrii, contentusque se uno, tunc præter consuetudinem cum pluribus de belli ratione communicavit."

[2] Suet. *Tiber.* 20.: "Tiberius a Germania in urbem post biennium regressus, triumphum egit." The triumph took place on the 16th January, *Kalend. Prænest.* (Orelli, ii. 382.) Fischer, in ann. 765. Germanicus was this year consul.

queror himself was doubtless well aware how much their resources for conquest were really exhausted. The Romans had recovered the fame of superiority, but the actual loss they had sustained could not be replaced without some years of repose. The frontiers of the empire, as it seemed to the eyes of statesmen, had permanently receded to the Rhine.[1] The aged emperor, after the immediate necessity for action had passed, sank into a state of nervous despondency. For many months after the news of the *Varian massacre* he allowed his hair and beard to grow untrimmed, and was even known to dash his head against his chamber walls, exclaiming with frantic impatience, *Varus, Varus, restore me my legions!* To the end of his days he continued to observe with solemn mourning the anniversary of that fatal disaster.[2]

We are now drawing to the close of the long domination of the second Cæsar, the splendour of which, though clouded towards its setting, was never wholly obscured. The year 765 opened auspiciously for the emperor with the triumph of Tiberius and the consulship of the brave Germanicus, who was perhaps the secret object of his pride, and on whom the people undoubtedly rested their best hopes for the future. Great we may believe was the satisfaction, both in the palace and the city, when, later in the year, the union of this young hero with Agrippa's daughter, Agrippina, produced a son to inherit, as might be fondly anticipated, the virtues of his progenitors on either side.[3] The prænomen of Caius, which was

A. D. 12. A. U. 765.

Augustus, in his old age, appears less in public.

[1] Florus, iv. 12.: "Hac clade factum, ut imperium, quod in litore Oceani non steterat, in ripa fluminis Rheni staret." Possibly Tacitus alludes in *Ann.* i. 38. "limes a Tiberio cœptus," to some outposts that were still retained beyond that river.

[2] Suet. *Oct.* 23.

[3] Caius Germanicus, known afterwards by his nickname of Caligula, was born on the 30th of September, A. U. 765, at Antium. Suet. *Calig.* 8.

bestowed upon him, unknown as it was to the branch of the Claudii from which he was lineally descended, might serve to remind the emperor of the favourite grandson he had lately lost, while it would recall to the people the remembrance of the great dictator, the conqueror of the Gauls, the destroyer of the Sullan oligarchy. With the politic courtesy which rarely abandoned him, Augustus addressed a letter to the senate, in which he recommended Germanicus to its favour and protection, while at the same time he recommended the senate itself to the respectful care of Tiberius. This letter he excused himself from reciting in person on the plea of increasing debility: it was read for him by Germanicus from the consul's chair. Failing as he now was in strength and spirits, he desired his kind friends, the senators and knights of Rome, no longer to incommode him by their officious salutations in the curia and the streets, in his own hall and private apartments, and to abstain from inviting him to their entertainments, which he had hitherto sedulously attended. He was gradually withdrawing himself from the most irksome obligations of his station, and relaxing the cords which bound the burden of his honours upon him. He was more anxious, however, to relieve himself from the pains or responsibilities of authority than to surrender its substance. Though he required the senate to renew the tribunitian power of Tiberius, and at the same time to decree him the proconsulate throughout the provinces, he did not hesitate to accept for himself in the year 766 a fifth decennial term of the Imperium. To his privy council, now raised from the number of fifteen to twenty, and always embracing among its members the consuls actual and designate, together with other high magistrates, he reserved the right of discussing all state affairs, and deciding them without recurring to the senate itself. He had come but rarely of late into the curia: he now relinquished

his attendance there altogether, and conducted his deliberations under his own roof, and frequently in his bedchamber. It was only when he wanted the confirmation of some unpalatable measure, such as his tax on successions, that he required the senate to set to it the seal of its collective authority.[1]

This communication of proconsular power abroad could hardly admit of any other interpretation than that the son was thereby formally associated in the empire with his father. The only question that now remained for solution was whether the emperor would designate others to share the succession in like manner with Tiberius hereafter. On this point the jealousy of Livia and her son's despondent apprehensions could not even yet be tranquillised. In vain did the expressions which dropped from Augustus himself throughout his intercourse with Tiberius assure him of his esteem and affection. Whether earnest or playful, his letters continued always to abound in tokens of admiration. No one, they declared, could have conducted the late campaign with more consummate prudence. Tiberius alone, they said, had restored the public weal, not by delay, as Fabius of old, but by wariness and discretion.[2] No matter whether or not the aged emperor were well, provided only the brave Tiberius were not ill. Such was the flattering tenor of every imperial epistle. Nevertheless rumours were not wanting that, in conversation with his nearest associates, Augustus had used very different language; that he had expressed his fears, not indeed of the ability, but of the temper

Tiberius becomes assured of the succession.

[1] Dion, lvi. 28. The council of fifteen had been renewed every six months; the twenty now retained their office for a year. Augustus, we see, was still far from confining the supervision of affairs to a mere cabinet. To the last he was not unfaithful to the principle, "quo plures partem administrandæ reipublicæ caperent." Suet. *Oct.* 37.

[2] Quoting the well-known line of Ennius, "Unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem," Augustus altered *cunctando* to *vigilando*.

of his future successor; that he had muttered with a sigh, *Alas for my people! to be ground between jaws so slow and so relentless.*[1] On the other hand, it was insinuated by some that he was induced to leave the conduct of affairs to Tiberius, that the contrast he anticipated between his own rule and his successor's might make his end the more generally regretted.[2] He had been heard to murmur at the moroseness of his stepson's temper, and been seen to check the cheerful flow of his own spirits in company, when the gloomy shadow of Tiberius darkened his threshold.[3]

Reported visit of Augustus to Agrippa in banishment.

Agrippa Postumus still lingered in banishment. It was possible that, at the last moment, his grandfather's heart might relent towards him. If this distrust of his stepson was truly imputed to him, Augustus hoped to qualify the evil by making Agrippa his associate in the imperial inheritance. Under the shades of despotism whatever men begin to think likely to be done, is straightway reported to have actually been done. Some writers mentioned it only as a rumour, others stated it as a fact,—at least it was very generally believed,—that Augustus had visited his grandson in exile.[4] Adopting every precaution to baffle observation, and attended, it was said, by a few trusty servants and with Maximus as his only confidant, he had quitted the shore of Italy. The interview had been marked by emotion and tears on either side. Thus much, it was added, was revealed by Maximus to his wife Marcia, by Marcia to Livia. The emperor discovered his companion's indiscretion, and when shortly after-

[1] Suet. *Tib.* 21.: "Miserum pop. Rom., qui sub tam lentis maxillis erit." The metaphor is taken from the circus. Suetonius elsewhere characterizes the disposition of Tiberius as "sævam et lentam."

[2] Tac. *Ann.* i. 10.; Suet. *l. c.*

[3] Suet. *l. c.* But even Suetonius gives no countenance to these rumours.

[4] Comp. Tac. *Ann.* i. 5., with Dion, lvi. 30., and with Plutarch (*de Garrul.* 11.), who tells the story still more dramatically.

wards Maximus was found dead under suspicious circumstances, his wife was heard to accuse herself as the cause of his decease. Such rumours soon acquired consistency in the mouths of the citizens, and became repeated as history at a later period. But Ovid, in one of his desponding letters from the Euxine, drops a similar accusation against himself, as in some mysterious way the unworthy means of his friend's disaster. It will be remembered that the exile of Ovid was nearly simultaneous with that of Agrippa, and hence some colour has been given to the idea that a political connexion existed between them.[1] The mystery which attached to the end of so distinguished a personage shows at least the irritable state of the public mind at this period. Its morbid feelings were displayed in a craving for excitement which overcame every restraint. The passion of men of birth and figure to encounter the perils of the arena for a round of popular applause rose higher than ever; and Augustus, wearied and disgusted, relaxed at last the opposition he had so vigorously maintained to the practice.[2]

Had Augustus, indeed, survived some years longer, a more formidable rival to Livia's son than Agrippa would have arisen in Germanicus. Even now, since the last campaign of Tiberius, the most important frontier of the empire was intrusted to his defence; his conspicuous ability, and the popularity he earned or inherited, would doubtless have recommended him to the emperor for still stronger tokens of confidence.[3] But the old man, now reaching

The census of the year 767. A.D. 14.

[1] Ovid, *Ex Pont.* iv. 6. 11.:

"Occidis ante preces, causamque ego, Maxime, mortis,
Nec fueram tanti, me reor esse tuæ."

[2] Dion, lvi. 25.: *καὶ τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν, ὃ καὶ θαυμάσειεν ἄν τις, μονομαχεῖν ἐπετράπη· αἴτιον δὲ ὅτι ἐν ὀλιγωρίᾳ τινὲς τὴν ἀτιμίαν τὴν ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐπικειμένην ἐποιοῦντο . . . . . . καὶ οὕτως ἀντὶ τῆς ἀτιμίας θάνατον ὠφλίσκανον.*

[3] Suet. *Calig.* 8.: "Germanicum exacto consulatu in Galliam missum;" therefore at the commencement of the year 767.

the completion of his seventy-sixth year, could not but feel his end approaching. His health, which in his youth had required constant care and unusual precautions, had certainly become more confirmed in the latter half of his life; nevertheless he was subject to harassing infirmities, and his strength failed under the weight of suffering no less than of years.[1] He was anxious to leave his great work complete, as far as human hands could make it so, and to retire from the scene with the assurance that he had provided for the future. As an appropriate close to his career he proposed to hold now a census of the people, the third he had undertaken since his accession to power, in order that the exact state of the commonwealth, its wealth and population, at the moment of his quitting it, might be certified to the latest posterity. So much, indeed, was he impressed with the belief that his decease was at hand, that on the occurrence of an unlucky omen, which was thought to portend that he would not survive a hundred days, he desisted from the work himself, leaving it to be completed by Tiberius lest it should suffer an unlucky interruption by his death.

[1] Suetonius, *Oct.* 80—83., gives some curious details of the habits of a Roman valetudinarian. Weakness of the hams and thighs was relieved by bandages and splints; the forefinger of his right hand, being liable to numbness, was encased, when he wrote, in horn. In the winter he wore four under-garments and a thick gown over them, besides guarding the chest with wool; the legs were also wrapped up. In the summer he slept in a chamber with open doors, often under an open colonnade, with fountains of water playing beside him, and a slave to fan him. He always, even in winter, wore a covering for the head when exposed to the sun. His journeys were made in a litter, generally at night, slowly and by short stages, taking two days to reach Tibur or Præneste, at the distance of fifteen or twenty miles. He preferred going by sea when possible. His precautions for preserving his health were chiefly, refraining from much bathing, anointing frequently, and sweating himself before a fire. For exercise, instead of the athletic sports of the palæstra, he was content with gentle riding and walking, or swinging his limbs in sitting. His amusements were the languid excitement of fishing, or playing dice with children.

The census, however, was completed, and the lustrum closed, before the middle of 767, and Augustus still lived. He employed the next few months in compiling a succinct memorial of his public acts, to be preserved in the public archives, a truly imperial work, and probably unique in its kind. The archives of Rome have long mouldered in the dust, but a ruined wall in a remote corner of her empire, engraved with this precious document, has been faithful to its trust for eighteen hundred years, and still presents us with one of the most curious records of antiquity. The inscription, which may still be read on the portico of a temple at Ancyra, attests the energy, sagacity, and fortune of the second Cæsar in a detailed register of all his public undertakings through a period of fifty-eight years.[1] Commencing with his nineteenth year, it bears witness to his filial piety in prosecuting his father's murderers; it touches lightly on the proscriptions, and vaunts the unanimity of all good citizens in his favour, when 500,000 Romans arrayed themselves under the banner of the triumvir. It records his assignment of lands to the veterans, and the triumphs and ovations decreed him by the senate. It signalizes his prudence in civil affairs, in revising the senate, in multiplying the patricians, and in thrice

Augustus leaves a record of his actions: the Monumentum Ancyranum.

[1] The celebrated *Monumentum Ancyranum* is a Latin inscription in parallel columns, covering the walls of the pronaos, or exterior porch, of a temple of Augustus at Ancyra. It was first copied by Busbequius in 1544, and has been transcribed often since: the traces of the letters have become fainter, but the greater care of recent explorers has more than balanced this misfortune. In the present century fragments of the Greek text of the same inscription have been discovered at Apollonia in Pisidia, which have served to supply some defects and verify some corrections. See the history of the Monumentum in Egger, *Historiens d'Auguste*, p. 412. foll. The record purports to be a copy from the original statement of Augustus himself, engraved on two brazen pillars at Rome: "Rerum gestarum divi Augusti . . . . . exemplar subjectum." It runs throughout in the first person: "Annos undeviginti natus exercitum privato consilio et privata impensa comparavi," &c.

performing the lustrum of the people. It enumerates the magistracies and priesthoods conferred upon him, and boasts of his three times closing the temple of Janus. His liberality is commemorated in his various largesses both of corn and money, and the contributions he made from his private treasures to relieve the burdens of his subjects. His magnificence is made to appear in the temples and public structures he built or caused to be built; in his halls and forums, his colonnades and aqueducts; nor less in the glorious spectacles he exhibited, and the multitude of beasts he hunted in the circus. The patriotism of Octavius shone conspicuously in the overthrow of the pirate Sextus, with his crew of fugitive slaves. Italy, it was added, swore allegiance to him of her own accord, and every province in succession followed her example. Under his auspices the empire had reached the Elbe, a Roman fleet had navigated the Northern Ocean, the Pannonians and Illyrians had been reduced, the Cimbric Chersonese had sought his friendship and alliance. No nation had been attacked by him without provocation. He had added Egypt to the dominions of Rome; Armenia, with dignified moderation, he had refrained from adding. He had planted Roman colonies in every province. Finally, he had recovered from the Parthians the captured standards of Crassus. For all these merits, and others not less particularly enumerated, he had been honoured with the laurel wreath and the civic crown; he had received from the senate the title of Augustus, and been hailed by acclamation as the father of his country.

Last days of Augustus.

Such are the most interesting statements of this extraordinary document; but to judge of the marvellous sobriety and dignity of its tone, the suppressed anticipation of immortal glory which it discovers, the reader must refer to the work itself. Certainly, whatever we may think of the merits of Augustus, no deed of his life became

him so well as the preparation he made for quitting it. The grave satisfaction he exhibits shows in a wonderful manner the triumph in the mind of the Roman of the citizen over the man. For if in public affairs his career had been eminently prosperous, and a vast ambition had been gorged with unexampled gratification, not the less had his latter years been embittered beyond the ordinary measure of humanity, by private chagrins and disappointments. The *fortune of Augustus*, proverbial as it became, related only to the one side of his history; the other served not less to point a moral, and betray the vanity of all earthly splendour and success.[1] It is important to notice these indications of the calmness with which Augustus contemplated the approach of death, and the preparation he made to meet it, for the estimate they enable us to form of the reports which ascribed it to the secret machinations of Livia. Such foul surmises obtain circulation but too commonly on the decease of an autocrat; engendered in darkness, it is generally impossible to trace their sources, or pronounce on their authenticity. But in the instance before us our means of judging are fortunately more satisfactory. Tiberius, after completing the lustrum, prepared to resume the command in Illyricum, where the attitude of the enemy, or rather, perhaps, of the legions themselves, might cause some uneasiness. On his quitting the city in midsummer, the emperor, who generally spent the hot season in the cool retreat of Campania, proposed to accompany him towards the Apulian coast. The Cæsars proceeded leisurely together, halting at various spots on their route, and

[1] The readers of Gibbon will remember how, at a late period of the empire, the best wish that could be solemnly expressed for each emperor on his accession was, that he might be "felicior Augusto," as well as "melior Trajano." But compare the very striking passage in Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* vii. 46.) on the mortifications of Augustus: "In divo Augusto . . . . . si diligenter æstimentur cuncta, magna sortis humanæ reperiantur volumina," &c.

showing themselves with good-humoured condescension to the inhabitants. But at Astura, Augustus contracted a dysentery, from incautious exposure to the night air. On recovering partly from the disorder, he proceeded to Capreæ and Naples, and finally accompanied Tiberius as far as Beneventum, where he took leave of him. Tiberius went on to Brundisium, and took ship for Illyricum, while the elder traveller returned towards the lower coast, but on reaching Nola was attacked with a fatal relapse of his recent sickness.[1] Thereupon messengers were despatched in all haste to Tiberius, by the order of Livia, or of the emperor himself. The expectant successor returned without delay; and it was announced that he came in time to see his father-in-law while yet alive, to receive his parting injunctions in a long interview, and to discharge towards him the last offices of filial piety.[2] But the real moment of the sick man's decease was never accurately known. The empress, it may be presumed, would not have chosen to reveal it while her son was yet absent, and before all requisite preparations had been made to secure the recognition of his claims. We may readily excuse her for taking such precautions to ensure the object of her life's ambition; but the Romans were not content

[1] Suetonius gives some interesting details of this last journey, showing the cheerfulness and self-possession of the invalid to the last. *Oct.* 97, 98. Comp. Dion, lvi. 29., Vell. ii. 123. The death of Augustus is dated the 19th of August, 767, within thirty-seven days of his seventy-seventh birthday, *i. e.* September 23. Suet. *Oct.* 100. His power, counting from the battle of Actium, Dion, lvi. 29., had lasted forty-four years all but thirteen days; or, counting from his triumvirate, fifty-six years all but two months.

[2] Suet. *Oct.* 99.: "Revocatum ex itinere Tiberium diu secreto sermone detinuit, neque post ulli majori negotio animum accommodavit." Vell. ii. 123.: "Revocavit filium Ille expectato revolavit maturius," &c. But Tacitus insinuates a doubt, *Ann.* i. 5.: "Vixdum ingressus Illyricum Tiberius, properis matris literis accitur; neque satis compertum est, spirantem adhuc Augustum apud urbem Nolam, an exanimem repererit." And the latter view is maintained by Dion, lvi. 31.: *ταῦτα γὰρ οὕτω τοῖς τε πλείοσι καὶ ἀξιοπιστοτέροις γέγραπται.*

with ascribing to her a little venial deceit; they gravely represented her to have murdered the poor old man her husband, by giving him poisoned figs. From what has been said, however, it will be apparent that there was no adequate motive for the crime; the fortunes of Tiberius, if not assured against all remoter contingencies, were at the time at least fully secure; absent as he was from the court and city, the moment was not such as would be seized for striking a blow in his behalf; Augustus, now arrived on the verge of seventy-seven, had already lived in safety with his reputed murderess for more than half a century, and had never been led to waver for an instant in the confidence he reposed in her; finally, we have seen how evidently he was himself impressed with the anticipation of a speedy dissolution, which is so often the effect of an inward consciousness of decay. To exculpate Livia or Tiberius from such a crime may be hardly worth the endeavour; but it is important to mark the weakness of the grounds upon which historians of high character could venture to insinuate it against them.

The closing scene of this illustrious life has been portrayed for us with considerable minuteness. It is the first natural dissolution of a great man we have been called upon to witness, and it will be long, I may add, before we shall assist at another. Let us observe it and reflect upon it. On the morning of his death, being now fully sensible of his approaching end, Augustus inquired whether there were any popular excitement in anticipation of it. Being no doubt reassured upon this point, he called for a mirror, and desired his grey hairs and beard to be decently arranged.[1] Then asking of the friends around him whether he had

Last moments of Augustus.

[1] Suet. *Oct.* 99.: "Capillum sibi comi, ac malas labentes corrigi præcepit."

played well his part in the drama of life, he muttered a verse from a comic epilogue, inviting them to greet his exit with applause.[1] He made some inquiries after a sick grandchild of Tiberius, and falling at last into the arms of Livia, had just strength, in the last moment of expiring, to recommend to her the memory of their long union.[2] His end was perfectly tranquil. He obtained the euthanasia he had always desired, very different, but not less in harmony with his character, from that of his predecessor.[3] There was no cynicism, at least to my apprehension, in the gentle irony with which, at the moment of death, he sported with the vanities of a human career. Though cheered with no religious hope for himself, nor soothed with any deep-felt yearnings towards his survivors, he was supported on the verge of the abyss by the unfailing power of national sentiment, and the strong assurance that he had confirmed by a great achievement the fortunes of the Roman state.

Effect of success upon the character of Augustus.

The history of the emperors will afford us abundant materials for estimating the strain upon the heart and brain of the fatal possession of unlimited power. Some men it puffs up and intoxicates with pride, as we have seen was the case with the bold and magnanimous Cæsar; others, of vehement and ill-regulated passions, it may drive to raging madness; some it crazes with fear, others it fevers with sensual indulgence; others

[1] Suet. *l. c.*: "Ecquid iis videretur mimum vitæ commode transegisse . . . . adjecit et clausulam: *εἰ δὲ πᾶν ἔχει καλῶς, τῷ παιγνίῳ Δότε κρότον, καὶ πάντες ὑμεῖς μετὰ χαρᾶς κτυπήσατε.*" Comp. Dion, lvi. 30.

[2] Suet. *l. c.* The child was named Livilla, daughter of Drusus, the son of Tiberius by Vipsania. See Suet. *Claud.* 1.

[3] Suet. *l. c.*: "Sortitus facilem exitum et qualem semper optaverat. Nam fere quoties audisset cito ac nullo cruciatu defunctum quempiam sibi et suis *εὐθανασίαν* similem, hoc enim et verbo uti solebat, precabatur." The reader may remember Cæsar's expression, that the best death is that which is least expected.

again, whose intellects are weak, though their natures are susceptible and kindly, it may reduce to absolute imbecility. But there is still another class of characters, self-poised and harmoniously developed, in whom it breeds a genuine enthusiasm, a firm assurance of their own mission, a perfect reliance on their own destiny, which sanctifies to them all their means, and imbues them with a full conviction that their might is right, eternal and immutable. At the close of his long career, Augustus could look back on the horrors in which it had commenced without blenching. He had made peace with himself, to whom alone he felt himself responsible; neither God nor man, in his view, had any claim upon him. The nations had not proclaimed him a deity in vain; he had seemed to himself to grow up to the full proportions they ascribed to him. Such enthusiasm, it may be argued, can hardly exist without at least some rational foundation. The self-reliance of Augustus was justified by his success. He had resolved to raise himself to power, and he had succeeded. He had vowed to restore the moral features of the republic, and in this too he had, at least outwardly, succeeded. While, however, the lassitude of the Romans, and their disgust at the excesses of the times, had been the main elements of his success, another and more vulgar agent, one which it might seem to need no genius to wield, had been hardly less efficacious; and this was simply his command of money. Throughout his long reign, Augustus was enabled to maintain a system of profuse liberality, partly by strict economy and moderation in his own habits, but more by the vast resources he had derived from his conquests. He was anxious to keep the springs of this abundance ever flowing, and he found means to engage the wealthiest of his subjects to feed them with gifts and legacies. The people

His enthusiasm and belief in his own divinity.

were content to barter their freedom for shows and largesses, to accept forms and temples in place of conquests; and while their ruler directed his sumptuary laws against the magnificence of the nobles, because it threw a shade over the economy which his own necessities required, he cherished the most luxurious tastes among the people, and strained every nerve to satiate them with the appliances of indolent enjoyment, with baths and banquets, with galleries and libraries, with popular amusements and religious solemnities.

Concluding reflections.

Yet the secret of his power escaped perhaps the eyes of Augustus himself, blinded as they doubtless were by the fumes of national incense. Cool, shrewd, and subtle, the youth of nineteen had suffered neither interest nor vanity to warp the correctness of his judgments. The accomplishment of his desires was marred by no wandering imaginations. His struggle for power was supported by no belief in a great destiny, but simply by observation of circumstances, and a close calculation of his means. As he was a man of no absorbing tastes or fervid impulses, so he was also free from all illusions. The story that he made his illicit amours subservient to his policy, whether or not it be strictly true, represents correctly the man's real character. The young Octavius commenced his career as a narrow-minded aspirant for material power. But his intellect expanded with his fortunes, and his soul grew with his intellect. The emperor was not less magnanimous than he was magnificent. With the world at his feet, he began to conceive the real grandeur of his position; he learnt to comprehend the manifold variety of the interests subjected to him; he rose to a sense of the awful mission imposed upon him. He became the greatest of Stoic philosophers, inspired with the strongest enthusiasm, and impressed the most deeply with a consciousness

of divinity within him. He acknowledged, not less than a Cato or a Brutus, that the man-God must suffer as well as act divinely; and though his human weakness still allowed some meannesses and trivialities to creep to light, his self-possession both in triumphs and reverses, in joys and in sorrows, was consistently dignified and imposing.[1]

[1] The deep impression this ruler's character made upon a hundred millions of subjects, is strongly marked in the eloquent though highflown panegyric which Philo the Jew pronounces upon him: *ὁ διὰ μεγέθους ἡγεμονίας αὐτοκρατοῦς ὁμοῦ καὶ καλοκἀγαθίας πρῶτος ὀνομασθεὶς Σεβαττὸς, οὐ διαδοχῇ γένους ὥσπερ τὶ κλήρου μέρος τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν λαβὼν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς γενόμενος ἀρχὴ σεβασμοῦ καὶ τοῖς ἔπειτα· κ. τ. λ.* Philo, *Leg. ad Caium*, 21.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

Unity of the Roman empire.—Contrast between the three great divisions of the ancient world, the East, the North, and the West—Variety within the Roman empire: 1, of languages; 2, of religions; 3, of classes: citizens, subjects, and allies, all gradually tend to a single type.—Elements of unity in the Roman empire from its geographical features.—Italy and the Mediterranean.—Communications by sea and land.—Map of the empire: surveys: census and professio.—Breviarium, or register of the empire.—The population of the Roman dominions under Augustus.—Universal tranquillity; Pax Romana.

The empire of the world.

THE conquests of Sulla and Lucullus, and still more those of Pompeius, opened a new world to the Romans, and extended their dominion, as they proudly boasted, over another hemisphere. Lords alike of the East and of the West, their sway seemed to stretch to the horizon on either side. They listened first with complacent satisfaction to the flattery of the Greeks, who sought to extenuate the shame of their own overthrow by magnifying the force and glory of their conquerors; but the orators of the forum soon caught up these exaggerated strains, and Cicero himself could venture to declare that the whole globe was shaken by the convulsion of the civil wars.[1] The establishment of the Augustan monarchy, expressing the material and moral unity of so many climes and nations, penetrated the Roman mind still more deeply with a sense of the vastness of the national power, and

[1] Polyb. iii. 3.: The Romans, he says, *ἐποίησαν πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην ὑπήκοον αὐτοις.* Cic. *ad Div.* ii. 16., iv. 1.: "hac orbis terrarum perturbatione . . . orbem terrarum ardere bello."

the boundless extent of its dominion. If any realms or nations still lay beyond the tread of the proconsular legions, they were known to the mass of the citizens only as *suppliants* or *tributaries*, from the delusive legends of the imperial medals. These illusions were widely propagated by the glowing language of orators and courtly versifiers; though not Virgil only and Horace, but Tibullus also and Propertius, generally speak upon this tempting theme with dignified moderation. With the lively and witty Ovid, however, there is an end of all such reserve. The author of the Fasti and the Metamorphoses indulges without scruple or reflection in the boldest assertions of the unbounded power of Rome, and its extension over all the earth. He defies great Jove himself, when he casts his eyes down from the pinnacles of heaven, to descry throughout creation any object which is not actually Roman.[1]

Three families of nations in the East, the West, and the North.

A glance on the map of the world, as it is known in our own times, will suffice to reduce these vaunts to their proper limits. At this moment the globe contains three at least, if not four empires, each of which exceeds in size the dominions of Rome at the period of their greatest extension, and of which one only comprises a few acres of all the regions over which Augustus

[1] Compare the noble and legitimate aspiration of Horace, "possis nihil urbe Roma visere majus," with the reckless assertion of Ovid:

"Jupiter arce sua totum cum spectat in orbem,
Nil nisi Romanum quod tueatur habet."

But Horace had said, "totum confecta duella per orbem;" and Virgil, "Pacatumque reget patriis virtutibus orbem." Seneca views the subject rather differently. If Rome did not possess the whole world, she had all that was worth having. "Omnes considera gentes in quibus Romana pax desinit; Germanos, dico, et quicquid circa Istrum vagarum gentium occursat. Perpetua illos hyems, triste cœlum premit, maligne solum sterile sustentat, imbrem culmo aut fronde defendunt, super durata glacie stagna persultant, in alimentum feras captant." *De Provid.* 4.

held sway.[1] It will be fairer, however, to measure the ideas of the Romans by the knowledge they themselves possessed; though judged even by this test, the extravagance of their notions will stand reproved. The tripartite division of the earth's surface is a tradition of unknown antiquity, though it has been differently applied at different epochs. At one time it was usual to separate Asia from the rest by a vertical line from north to south, and again to subdivide the western hemicycle by a line drawn horizontally through the Mediterranean, into the two continents of Europe and Africa. At another the cardinal line was traced from east to west, leaving Europe, with half of Asia, as a single compartment, above it, and the rest of Asia with Africa, which were again distinguished from each other, below. But these divisions were merely arbitrary; at least they recommended themselves to the eye only. At the period we are now considering the known world admits of a more philosophical division, with reference to its social and political features, while the principle of tripartition may be still retained. At the foundation of the empire the communities of the Roman world were massed in three principal families, and these continued for many ages to retain their most distinctive characteristics. They may be represented as the East, the West, and the North: the realms, 1st, of the Parthian, Indian, and Arabian; 2nd, of the Roman with all his subject peoples; and, lastly, of the German, Scythian, and Sarmatian. On the one hand, a line drawn from the crest of the Caucasus across the heads of the Tigris and Euphrates, descending thence along the frontiers of Syria and Palestine, till it struck the northern extremity of the Red Sea, would separate the dominions of Rome from those of her chief rival,

[1] The Russian, the British, the American, and, if it still exist, the Chinese. Gibraltar, Malta, and the Ionian Islands are the only fragments of the Augustan empire included in any of these vast agglomerations of territory. [A. D. 1855.]

Parthia, and the allies the Parthian could summon to his aid, or the kindred monarchies he might pretend to influence. On the other hand, the eye following the British Channel, the Rhine, and the Danube, and glancing across the Euxine and the Caspian, till it lost itself in the steppes of central Asia, might distinguish between the unexplored realms of the northern barbarians on the left, and the two great empires of civilized humanity on the right.

Their political characteristics contrasted. 1. Parthia and the East. Spirit of monarchical rule.

The political characteristics of these three coordinate sections may be contrasted not less readily than their geographical positions. In the patriarchal despotism which prevailed throughout the East, all power emanated from the sovereign, and descended through the channels ordained by his sole will and pleasure. From the Parthian sultan on his throne at Seleucia, to the Arab sheikh who directed a handful of roving bandits from his tent in the desert, the same principle of government was there generally admitted. The military chiefship of the Macedonian kings became, as soon as they were settled in Asia, an uncontrolled monarchy, checked by no prerogatives of nobles or people. The successors of Alexander inherited the tiara of Darius. In the same manner the feudal principles respected by the old Parthian kings in their mountain fastnesses, where the great vassals of the crown had each his proper place and privileges, entitled to the deference of the sovereign himself, vanished almost as soon as the horsemen of the Oxus touched the soil of Seleucia and Babylon, and yielded to the pure autocracy exercised there long before by the Mede and the Persian.

2. Germany and the North. Spirit of personal liberty.

The chief feature, however, of the northern polities, if such a term is applicable to so rude a society, consisted in the voluntary surrender of each man's will and action to a chief chosen by himself for a definite object. The German war-

riors assembled for the choice of a captain to point out to them the foe, to lead them against him, to divide his territories among them. They required him also to execute justice between them, and ordinarily appealed to his decision, when their passions were not too strongly excited to forego a mere trial of strength. But, destitute as they were of cities, and nearly destitute even of villages, they had no conception of municipal government, and the intricate questions of right thence arising. Their property, held for the most part in common, was hardly a subject of legal regulation; religion, directed by the voice of priests, oracles, and prophetesses, had little of prescribed system or traditional forms; while consultation in common for the purpose of permanent legislation was apparently seldom used. The instinct of municipal organization which has been since so conspicuous among them, remained yet to be developed in the character of the northern nations. The spirit of personal independence was as yet a sufficient safeguard of freedom, and enabled them to resist with success the formidable aggressions of their invaders: but it would not have availed to overthrow the fabric of an established civilization, much less to replace it; and the four centuries which were yet to intervene before the northern races, confronted on the Rhine and Danube with Roman laws and manners, should succeed to the empire of the South, were a period of slow and gradual training in the science of law and government.

3. Greece and Rome in the West. Spirit of municipal government.

The political notions which animated the two great civilizing nations of antiquity, the Greek and the Roman, were remarkable for their similarity. The idea of the city, as the germ of social development, was common to both. The spirit of the institutions of Athens and Rome was in the main identical. It was marked by common consultation, by oral discussion, by the recognition of

the opinion of the majority as the sentence of the community, by the combination in the same hands of the civil, the military, and the religious administration, and generally by a preference of the elective to the hereditary principle in every department of government. However much of the details of their political constitution the Romans derived from the Etruscans, they permitted little deviation, under that foreign influence, from these great fundamentals. They created and maintained from the first the theories of government, which have approved themselves as the soundest to after ages, and which are generally accepted among the most advanced of modern nations as the genuine expression of right reason. When the Romans conquered Italy they found themselves in collision with no hostile and irreconcileable political conceptions. There was no difficulty, therefore, in admitting the nations of the peninsula to the privileges of the conquering city, for they had been educated to understand and appreciate them by familiarity with their own. So it was with the conquests of the Greeks also. Throughout the regions where the Hellenic race had settled, in which it had amalgamated the natives to a great extent with itself, the ideas of municipal government had taken root and become naturalized. The conquerors did not find it necessary to supplant these institutions by formulas of their own: both the one and the other were in fact homogeneous. Even in lower Italy and Sicily, and still more commonly in Greece and Asia Minor, we find that the petty communities of Hellenic origin were frequently allowed to retain their laws and local administration. The general ideas of self-government and social progress, which had formed the strength of Athens and Rome, continued to animate the two great families, the Italian and Hellenic, in which the moral force of the united empire resided.

In the West, on the other hand, the native races

had far less of this instinct for municipal government: many of them, as in Spain and Africa, were probably altogether devoid of it. Here the conqueror came as an instructor and a civilizer. Self-government was recommended to the Gauls and Iberians by the moral superiority of their new rulers, which they acknowledged with awe and admiration.[1] Accordingly little effort was required to impress on these people the advantage of managing their local affairs under Roman forms. We have already seen how the western half of the empire became much more closely assimilated to Italy than the eastern: in the one region Roman ideas were transplanted in their full maturity to the foreign land; in the other they found themselves confronted and held aloof by a rival civilization at least equal to their own, long fixed and rooted in the soil.

Barbarian races of the West.

We may pause in this place, and examine in some detail the elements of variety which thus existed together in the political condition of the Roman empire; an empire which comprehended at least a hundred divers races among its subjects, speaking perhaps many more languages

Elements of variety within the Roman empire.

[1] Yet this may be a fit place to remark that the civilization of barbarians, at least their material cultivation, has been generally more advanced by instructors whose moral superiority was less strongly marked, than where the teachers and the taught have few common sympathies and points of contact. Thus, in our own times, rough whalers and brutal pirates have done more to Europeanize the natives of Polynesia than the missionaries; and it may be believed that the success of the Romans in assimilating to themselves the barbarian races of their empire, which has been deemed one of the lost arts, was owing in a great degree to the low moral standard of the conquerors themselves, which brought them nearer to the level of their subjects. When this moral infirmity was found to be united, as in the case before us, with intellectual and social superiority, the influence it exercised over the inferior race was irresistibly seductive. But hence the new civilization of the Roman provinces was rotten from the first. Its foundation was laid on a mere quicksand: there were no steadfast and solid virtues, however rude and homely, at the bottom of it. Hence Gaul, Spain, and Africa produced no original minds in any branch of art or science, no schools of thought, no principles of action, and exercised no moral control on the course of events.

and dialects; which numbered some thousands of towns or cities, each endowed with its own laws and administration, each having its several classes of inhabitants, with peculiar privileges and functions — the citizen, the metic, the stranger, and the slave; which acknowledged at the same time the sanctity of manifold religions, and suffered a paramount or exclusive authority to be claimed by a multitude of distinct divinities, each in its own peculiar sphere.

Varieties of language.

I. There is no trace of the Romans seeking in any quarter to impose their own language on the conquered races, or proscribing the native tongue. The furthest extent to which they allowed themselves to go in obtruding a single favoured idiom on their subjects, was in conducting public business throughout the empire in Latin, a practice dictated by convenience, though sanctioned no doubt by a feeling of national pride. The majesty of Rome, that moral charm on which her authority was made to rest even more than on her arms, might seem to require that her chief magistrates and generals should use no other language than her own, and allow no other to be addressed to them in the provinces, and still more that the debates of the senate at home, the parliamentary model and court of appeal of all nations, should be confined to the vernacular dialect, at a time when in private every educated Roman was in the habit of talking Greek almost as commonly as Latin. Some vigilance was required, in such a state of things, to maintain the purity of this official language of the state, to keep the door closed against the intrusion of alien idioms into its most solemn discussions; and Tiberius was noted for the strictness with which he insisted on this etiquette in drawing up the decrees of the senate.[1] The Roman

[1] Suet. *Tib.* 71.: "Sermone Græco, quanquam alias promptus et facilis, non tamen usquequaque usus est, abstinuitque maxime in Senatu, adeo quidem ut *monopolium* nominaturus, prius veniam pos-

language was used in every official act to the furthest borders of the empire; but it was translated into the local dialect, and often again into the Greek, as the classical channel of communication between the instructed of all countries.[1] The Greek language indeed pervaded, as we have seen, the whole of the Eastern provinces, and was generally understood by the more intelligent even of the lower classes. Among these the knowledge of it was probably disseminated by the Greek slaves who followed in the retinue of every noble Roman, and generally transacted his business. In Rome, however, it was acknowledged and prized as the vehicle of poetry, philosophy, history, and science. In all these branches of learning the writers of Latin avowed themselves to be merely imitators; they pretended to no higher aim than that of naturalizing among their own countrymen the ideas of their intellectual mistress. They had their children taught Greek from infancy[2]; they spoke it habitually in their own families; they wrote in it their private correspondence; they discussed in it with their learned slaves matters of art, science, and domestic economy; and many masters of Roman literature composed without affectation some pieces in Greek also. They indulged a humble hope of leaving to posterity a more durable monument of themselves than stone or brass, by embalming the record of their actions in the language

Prevalence of Greek in the Eastern provinces.

tularit, quod sibi verbo peregrino utendum esset. Atque etiam in quodam decreto Patrum, quum ἔμβλημα recitaretur, commutandam censuit vocem," &c.

[1] Hence we read that the inscription on the cross was written in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. The co-ordination of the three languages among the Jews is curiously exemplified, as regards personal names, in the incidental notice of St. Mark's Gospel, xv. 21.: "Simon the Cyrenian, the father of Alexander and Rufus." But generally the names of Jews mentioned in the New Testament are in about equal proportion, Greek, Latin, and Hebrew.

[2] *Dial. de Orat.* 29.: "At nunc natus infans delegatur Græculæ alicui ancillæ."

of Xenophon and Thucydides.[1] It is curious how entirely this calculation has failed. Such memorials of Roman statesmen and captains have universally perished; nor does there exist any composition of a Roman writer in Greek until we come at least to a somewhat later age.[2]

Of Latin in the Western.

But Latin, while it thus yielded without reluctance to the superior claims of its rival throughout the East, and to a great extent even in Italy and Rome itself, was compensated by a still more remarkable triumph in the opposite quarters of the empire.[3] We have no intimation that force was employed in planting this language in Gaul or Spain Pannonia or Africa; that the use of the vernacular idioms was ever interdicted, or the native children drafted into schools to learn that of their conquerors. Yet scarcely had one generation passed away, after the incorporation of these countries with the empire, before the use of Latin seems to have become almost universal among them. Some districts of Gaul continued, indeed, as at this day, to utter the cherished sounds of their own Celtic idioms; the language of the Vascones or Basques retained its savage supremacy, as it still does, in remote corners of Spain; fragments of the ancient Moorish tongue, and of the Punic engrafted on it, lingered, we may believe, among the

[1] Thus, besides Cicero's history of his consulship, there were memoirs of the younger Scipio, of Lucullus, of Sulla, &c., in Greek. Fabius Pictor and Cincius wrote Roman history in that language.

[2] The Geography of Strabo (in the reign of Tiberius), preserved to us by its rare merits, is perhaps the earliest of the kind.

[3] The reason why the Latin never prevailed over the Greek, is because the Greek is a language of later formation than the other. A people who had advanced so far in accuracy and discrimination as to use the article, middle verb, and such a variety of moods, cases, and inflexions, as the Greeks, could not return to the meagre elements of the Latin tongue. For the greater antiquity of Latin, see Donaldson, *New Cratylus*, ed. 2. p. 127. But Latin, on the other hand, was no doubt more copious and varied than any of the western idioms.

African provinces[1]; but in all these vast regions Latin became, at a very early period, the ordinary language of the people; it reached, within one or two centuries, the limits beyond the Alps and the Pyrenees which it has ever since retained. Strabo, born in the lifetime of Augustus, tells us that in some parts of Spain the native language was in his day already forgotten.[2] Latin, we learn from Velleius Paterculus, was generally spoken[3] in Pannonia twenty years after its subjugation. While Divitiacus had lived for years at Rome without acquiring it, in the course of two generations we find Arminius speaking it without hesitation.[4] The conquests of a language seem to depend, not so much on the comparative numbers of the people who speak it, as on the moral influence they exert. We here discover an additional proof that Rome occupied, in the view of the western races, the same place which Greece claimed in the eyes of the Romans. She was beheld with the same awe and respect, and acknowledged as a mistress in civilization more potent than in arms. The western nations were content never to look beyond Rome for their ideas, just as the Romans never looked beyond Greece. The monuments of Egyptian life and manners, which the children of Hellen acknowledged as the source of so much of their own inspiration, were merely objects of vague curiosity to the descendants of Quirinus.

II. Varieties of religion.

II. Accordingly, while we observe the wide diversities of language thus existing within the sphere of the empire, we perceive at the

[1] Apuleius reproaches an African youth, who lived among the populace, with the use of Punic, whilst he had almost forgot Greek, and neither could nor would speak Latin. *Apolog.* p. 556. The greater part of St. Augustine's congregations were strangers to the Punic. Gibbon, *Decl. and Fall*, ch. ii.

[2] Strabo, iii. 2. p. 151.: *ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν Τουρδετανοὶ καὶ μάλιστα οἱ περὶ τὸν Βαῖτιν . . . . οὐδὲ τῆς διαλέκτου τῆς σφετέρας ἔτι μεμνημένοι.*

[3] Vell. ii. 110.: "In omnibus Pannoniis non disciplinæ tantummodo sed linguæ quoque notitia Romanæ, plerisque etiam literarum usus."

[4] Tac. *Ann.* ii. 10.

same time that they are doomed soon to merge in one or two superior types of speech. The variety, however, of the religious systems in vogue under the Roman dominion, offered a more obstinate resistance to the tendency, which was now everywhere exhibited, towards uniformity. According to modern notions there is nothing more vital to the existence of national unity than the unity of its religious views. To the maintenance of this unity philosophers and statesmen have directed their most ardent efforts, the one by argument, the others often by force. The dawn of consciousness that it has ceased to exist has been felt as a shock which it was necessary to conceal from popular observation. In proportion as the actual variety of belief among the people has become apparent, the state itself has seemed to rock to and fro, to lose its balance, to let go its fixed principles, to become a mere collection of uncemented atoms. Very foreign, however, were any such feelings from the ideas with which the Romans were conversant. In the height of their power, when their own faith and their own right hands were equally potent, they felt no scruple in allowing every race and every man among their subjects to worship his God after his own fashion. We have seen how the national divinities of Gaul were respected by the conquerors; and the same was doubtless the case, though we have not the means of tracing it, in every other province. The honours paid them by the natives, and even by the Roman residents, survived in many parts the vernacular languages.[1] In Jerusalem, Augustus caused a sacrifice to be offered daily in the temple for his own health and fortunes.[2] With few and special exceptions only, they allowed foreign cults to be practised

[1] The votive inscriptions, of which there are many existing, to the Gallic divinities, run generally in the name of Roman worshippers, and always in the Latin language.

[2] Philo, *Leg. ad Cai.* pp. 588. 592.

even in the heart of the imperial city; they suffered their own Jupiter on the Capitol to be rivalled within the shadow of his august temple by deities, whose worshippers proclaimed them the Best and the Greatest, no less than Jupiter himself.

Their local independence.

Nor was this all. There were temples dedicated to Jupiter Capitolinus at Corinth, at Antioch, at Augustodunum, and possibly at other places, as well as at Rome; nor can we suppose, although no traces of such worship appear, that Janus and Quirinus, and other Roman divinities, were entirely without honour in the colonies abroad.[1] The deity of Augustus himself, sometimes in conjunction with that of Roma, was adored with vows and sacrifices both in the East and West, though the worship of the emperor was forbidden to Roman citizens, or within the bounds of Italy. But we cannot trace at least any bond of uniformity in the worship of the same gods thus locally separated. No jealous eye watched over their ceremonies and rituals, no authoritative voice denounced the discrepancies which might spring up between their services, and even the attributes in divers places ascribed to them. Each temple must be supposed to have had its own ministers, independent of other kindred colleges, and subject only to the general but ill-defined authority of the chief of religion, who was chief also of the state. The management of the estates bequeathed to it by local piety, the regulation of its usages, the methods of election into its own body, were left to the discretion of each separate corporation. We shall notice at a later period the feebleness of this loose and unconnected system when opposed to the strict organization of the Christian churches.

[1] Pausan. ii. 4.; Liv. xli. 20.; Eumen. *Orat. pro instaur. schol.* 9, 10. Comp. Tzschirner, *Fall des Heidenthums*, p. 53.

III. Another important element of diversity was the fixed distinction of classes in the empire. The great aim of modern civilization is to reduce the component parts of society to an uniform status, at least in the eye of the law; to fuse together all varieties of race and origin, and abolish or disguise whatever special privileges they may have claimed or exercised. The administration, generally retrogressive, of Augustus, had in this particular also a contrary aim, however it may have been thwarted by irresistible circumstances. Augustus strove, with a zeal which we may almost call fanatical, to retrace more strongly the old lines of social demarcation, which the disorders of the times had suffered to disappear. The Roman world was still composed of citizens, subjects, and allies: such were the three co-ordinate classes of society, each subdivided into ranks and orders of its own, which alone the law recognised as entitled to social and political rights. Beyond these, huddled together with goods and chattels, lay the outer world of slaves who were allowed no part or interest in the law at all.

III. Distinction of classes.

Citizens, subjects, and allies.

Slaves.

We have seen with what precision Augustus regulated the places of senators and knights, citizens and freedmen; with respect to the admission of strangers to the franchise he was reserved and scrupulous. He abstained altogether from imparting the boon to whole cities and states, as Cæsar and Antonius had done; to individuals he doled out the precious gift with a sparing hand. In the provinces the condition of the people was complicated by a variety of distinctions; and these too he maintained according to the prescriptions of the republic. We have no data for assigning the proportion of the provincial population which belonged to the class of subjects, and lay under the yoke of Roman laws and magistrates, without any

Distinctions of condition in the provinces.

free action of its own. It was not, perhaps, large. Cæsar applauded his own generosity in granting terms to the whole mass of the Gauls, the use of their own customs, choice of their magistrates, discussion of their affairs, and levying of their local revenues. Independence, or autonomy, as it was called, to this extent was enjoyed, indeed, by a large portion of every subject people; but only by special grant at the time of capitulation, or at a later period under the patronage of some powerful chieftain. Pompeius gave autonomy to most of the cities of Asia; in Greece the constitutions of the several states were generally remodelled at the conquest, but they were allowed themselves to administer them.[1] We have already traced in many instances the effects of individual favour and caprice in conferring or withdrawing these coveted prerogatives. Autonomy, however, did not imply release from imperial taxation. The land and capitation taxes, sometimes together with a special tribute, were regularly enforced. Fiscal exemption or immunity was a special boon bestowed only in the most favoured cases. The free states continued to mark their years by the names of their chief magistrates. Archons and Prytanes, as we learn from medals and inscriptions, governed to a late period the communities of Ionian origin, while the Dorian still obeyed their Ephori and Cosmi.[2] To some of them the prerogative of coining money was long indulged. Each of them was suffered to maintain its own fiscal regulations, devised with a view to its own peculiar advantage, whereby a multitude of conflicting interests was everywhere perpetuated; and these were still further complicated by the existence of free confederations, such as the Panionian, the Amphictyonic, the Bœotian and Achæan; the action of which

[1] Strabo, xii. xiii.; Plin. *H.N.* v.; Dion. xxxvii. 20.; Pausan. vii. 16.; Becker's *Roem. Alterth.* iii. 1. 143.

[2] Hoeck, *Roem. Gesch.* ii. 218.

may have been mainly confined, however, to matters of religion and social intercourse.

But the friends and allies of the Roman people, though often locally situate in the heart of the Roman territories, were neither subject to the Roman magistrate, nor tributary to the imperial treasury. The terms on which they held their independence were specifically those of offensive and defensive alliance; the supply of a military contingent, the extradition of fugitives, and non-intercourse with the enemies of Rome. In return for such compliances they received the august protection of the patron state. Much, however, as these apparent anomalies might seem to militate against the actual unity of the empire, in practice they did not seriously affect it. The eye accustomed to the contemplation of the essential uniformity of the administration, glanced beyond these petty exceptions without a pause, and rested upon the grand principle which predominated over the whole. Friends and allies, the free and the exempted, all felt but too sensibly that their privileges were held only at the caprice of a master. Their independence was after all little more than a shadow. The edicts of the proconsuls, and in later times the rescripts of the emperors, could at any time dissipate and destroy it. Step by step most of them were in fact brought down at last to the common condition of subjects. The loss of their political or civic privileges, meagre as they were, might be a matter of little regret to them; but as subjects of the empire they found themselves compelled to bear an undue proportion of the imperial taxation, every deficiency in which was ordinarily supplied by additional imposts on the occupiers of the public domain. To escape from this ever-increasing burden was the aim of their most earnest endeavours, and this could only be effected by acquiring the rights of

Independent communities

gradually reduced to subjection.

citizenship. Every fresh admission to the most favoured class so far reduced the area of general taxation, while it increased its intensity. Hence the impolicy, which Augustus wisely appreciated, of giving easy access to it. But we shall find his successors not always so scrupulous, and observe how the discovery, which was speedily made, that the privileges of citizenship could be made financially available, induced them to turn in their necessities to this fatal resource, and sacrifice to an immediate expediency the permanent forces of the empire.

Numbers of the citizens.

The reserve adopted by Augustus in multiplying the dominant class was doubtless manifest to the provincials, who well knew that a wary ruler must feel alarm at the too rapid diminution of the tax-payers throughout his dominions, under the opposite policy of his predecessors. They would observe with satisfaction that the total number of exemptions, according to the census of 767, did not exceed by more than 500,000 that which had been calculated forty-one years before, representing an increase in that period of only about one in thirty-two, and that it was actually less than that of the intermediate enumeration of 746.[1] During the confusion of the civil wars no census had been taken from which a comparison might be instituted between this moderation and the lavish profusion of Cæsar and Antonius. Yet however selfish and reckless the triumvir had shown himself in this

[1] The numbers of the censuses of Augustus, as given on the Monument of Ancyra, are as follows: A.U. 726, 4,063,000; A.U. 746, 4,233,000; A.U. 767, 4,190,000. These numbers may be supposed to represent the male citizens of military age throughout the empire: previous enumerations, the highest of which scarcely exceeded one tenth of these numbers, must refer to those of the city and its vicinity only. The ratio these numbers bear to the whole class of citizens of every age and both sexes, is roughly indicated in the text; it will be considered more closely a little further on.

respect, the views of the dictator at least are entitled to more consideration. Cæsar had felt the need of infusing new blood largely into the class who fought the battles of the state. As a conqueror himself he knew the weakness of his military resources. As a man of science and letters, he honoured and rewarded the liberal professions. Sanguine and ambitious, he relied upon future conquests for replenishing the treasury his liberality exhausted, and created new sources of perennial wealth. But Augustus indulged in no such visions. He found the citizens, at least in Italy, generally indisposed to military service; but the resources bequeathed him by his predecessors sufficed for his more moderate outlay of Roman blood, and, except on one great occasion of disaster and panic, he was able to recruit his military garrisons without extraneous supplies.[1] But he would not suffer even the Italians to enjoy a double immunity both from arms and taxation. Exemption from the tax on land was a special privilege, which they could not be persuaded to forego. Augustus, by the invention of a duty on succession, which he imposed exclusively on the citizens, redressed in some degree the balance. By a simple stroke of finance he established the essential equality of the conquerors and the conquered, while he relieved himself from some portion at least of the pressure applied to him by those who sought to evade by becoming citizens their due share in the general burdens.

There was one source, however, from which, notwithstanding the emperor's reluctance, the franchise

[1] This applies of course only to the legionary force. The subjects of the empire continued to furnish auxiliary cohorts, and it is possible that the proportion they bore to the legions was gradually increased. Gaul and Spain, and even Germany, furnished numerous and well-appointed contingents. The Jews were generally exempted from military service in deference to their religious prejudices. Joseph. *Antiq. Jud.* xiv. 10, 11—19.

continued to be extended, nor could any direct or efficient control be placed upon it. Every proprietor had it in his power to confer citizenship on his own slave by a legitimate emancipation, nor, till Augustus interfered, was any discouragement thrown on this practice, as long as certain forms were duly complied with. With the stroke of the prætor's wand, the slave was turned at once into a citizen, and the master became a patron.[1] In the simpler ages of the commonwealth, no provision had been made, because perhaps none was practically required, for restraining the cupidity of masters in this particular. The service of the slave was worth more to his master than the trifling sum he could have it in his power to offer for his freedom. But the case must have been altered when slaves were possessed of the highest personal and intellectual qualities. Such men as Cicero's favourite Tiro, a paragon of literary accomplishments, might doubtless have bid high for manumission, had he sighed for the mere name of liberty. In many cases indeed the qualities of the slave were a pecuniary benefit to the master; but it is natural to suspect that the master was often induced to turn this interest into capital, by selling the slave his freedom outright.[2] It was sometimes

Extension of the franchise by the manumission of slaves.

[1] It is to be observed that there are two modes of manumission *justa* and *minus justa*, the one being the regular and legitimate method effected by the stroke of the prætor's wand, which conferred a certain citizenship with limited privileges; the other required no formality beyond the mere word or certificate of the master, but the freedom it gave was good only as against the master. The lex Julia Norbana (A.U. 771) first gave these freedmen a certain political status, by assimilating them to the Latini. See Wallon, *Hist. de l'Esclavage dans l'Antiquité* (ii. 401.), from Gaius (i. 22.), who calls them Latini Juniani. Under the republic the freedman could obtain no political honours, could vote only in one of the four urban tribes, could serve only in the marine, and could not contract marriage with a citizen. These restrictions were however extinguished in the second generation.

[2] It seems, indeed, to have been a common arrangement that the slave should be allowed to work on his own account, and recover his

perhaps from humanity, more commonly from a feeling of pride, that he manumitted his slaves on his death-bed, and secured a longer retinue of clients to follow his bier.[1] But even in his lifetime his vanity might be fed by the respect and service of his freedmen. These people continued after emancipation attached to the interests of their patron, and were often admitted to his confidence, in places of trust which could not with propriety be filled by a slave. There are no intimations, perhaps, from which we can judge of the extent to which manumission had actually been carried, but undoubtedly the common expectation of release from captivity rendered the condition of slavery more tolerable. A good and trusty slave, we infer from a passage in Cicero, might anticipate his emancipation in six years.[2] The measure of Augustus, which placed a tax on this sale of citizenship, may have had some influence in checking it; it is probable, however, that it was meant to serve another purpose, in feeding the imperial treasury.[3]

The slaves formed the last of the classes of the population; and the marked contrast of their condition, politically and socially, to those of the various free men of the empire, constituted, no doubt, the strongest element of diversity in its system. Throughout the whole

Slavery: its indirect effect in combining the various classes of free men together.

freedom for a stipulated sum. It appears, however, that the law gave him no protection against the violation of this agreement. See Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 42.

[1] Dion. Hal. *Antiq. Rom.* iv. 24.

[2] Cic. *Philipp.* viii. 11.: "Etenim, patres conscripti, quum in spem libertatis sexennio post simus ingressi, diutiusque servitium perpessi, quam captivi frugi et diligentes solent." He counts the years of his political servitude from the crossing of the Rubicon (705) to the declaration of war against Antonius (711).

[3] Under the republic a tax of a twentieth had been levied on the sale of slaves (from A.U. 398 to 543); and the money thence derived was deposited in the treasury; from whence (the sum being recorded) Dureau de la Malle draws a curious but unsafe argument regarding the number of enfranchisements.

extent of the Roman dominions every city and every mansion was in fact divided into two hostile camps, those of the masters and the slaves, the tyrants and their victims. This inveterate hostility of class against class would appear at first sight to be a source of weakness, against which no political contrivance could effectually contend: nevertheless, history seems to attest that the institutions of slave-states have been at least as permanent as those of others; there has been no instance perhaps, on a large scale, of the overthrow of a polity by a servile reaction. Notwithstanding the superficial diversity introduced by slavery into the Roman state, it was on the whole an element of unity as well as of strength. It drew the various classes of free men more closely together by the sense of a common interest; it induced them to establish a common system of law and usage, of police and repression, in reference to it; it left them free to exercise themselves in arms or letters, while all necessary manual services were performed for them by others; by drawing its recruits from manifold sources, and gradually transfusing them into the body of the free population, it tended to assimilate the races of the empire, and obliterate distinctions of blood, language, and condition. Drop by drop the stream of barbarism continually distilled into the reservoir of the city. The busts of the later empire speak more eloquently than any other evidence to the gradual debasement of the old Roman type of form and countenance.

Elements of unity in the Roman empire.

We have thus seen how even the varieties of language, religion, and condition, which prevailed throughout the Roman dominions, were compensated in a great degree by certain tendencies to uniformity, and slowly gravitated towards a single type. There were other respects, however, in which this progress was more rapid and apparent, and impressed on the manifold fragments

of the empire the character of one homogeneous mass. From age to age the ever increasing area of the Roman dominions continued to be generated round its centre, the peninsula, which, striking deeply into the Mediterranean, almost divides it into equal parts, until it encircled the whole of that great basin with a belt of populous provinces, studded with rich and splendid cities. Before the conquests of Cæsar and Pompeius, the map of the empire was merely a chart of the Mediterranean. Cicero had said of the Greek states and colonies throughout the world that they were *a fringe, as it were, on the skirts of barbarism;* and it was not till the reduction of the interior of Gaul, Spain, and Lesser Asia that the Roman power penetrated far, in any quarter, beyond sight of the friendly waves of the Mediterranean.[1] While the coast teemed everywhere with the products of industry and civilization, and the hand and mind of man were as busy and restless as the waves before his feet, the vast regions at his back were abandoned to forests and morasses, the abodes of wild animals and hardly less wild barbarians. In the most flourishing periods of ancient history, the Mediterranean may be compared to the great inland lakes of the American continent, skirted with cities, villages, and clearings, but with illimitable tracts of unredeemed wilderness stretching behind them. The latest conquests of Rome annexed the backwoods of Gaul and Germany in great masses, though even here the colonization of the Romans, and even the occupation of the natives,

Italy the centre of the Mediterranean Sea.

The Mediterranean Sea the centre of the empire.

[1] Cic. *de Republ.* ii. 4.: "Ita barbarorum agris quasi attexta quædam videtur esse ora Græciæ." "We," says Plato (*Phædo*, p. 109. b.), "who dwell from the Phasis to the pillars of Hercules, inhabit only a small portion of the earth, in which we have settled round the sea like ants or frogs round a marsh." Mark the contrast of national character in these kindred images: "Romanus honos et Graia licentia"—the one majestic but rhetorical, the other genial though mean.

was confined to certain narrow tracks of internal communication. Even in the age of Augustus hardly one place of any political importance lay at a distance of twenty miles from the coasts of the midland sea.[1] The consolidation of the Roman power over these coasts reduced the Mediterranean to the common highway of all civilized nations; and when the police of these waters was duly kept, as was the case under the emperors, their mutual communications were regular and rapid. In fair seasons, and with fair winds, the navigation of the ancients, conducted by oars and sails, was speedier than our own till the inventions of the most recent times.[2] We learn that vessels from the mouth of the Tiber could reach the coast of Africa in two days, Massilia in three, Tarraco in four, and the pillars of Hercules in seven. From Puteoli the transit to Alexandria had been effected with moderate winds in nine days; from Messana in seven, and once even in six.[3] On the other hand, however, if the winds and waves were adverse, the timidity and unskilfulness of the mariners made their voyages extremely slow and uncertain. Cæsar

[1] I am speaking of course of places which owed subjection to Rome, and I except the military colonies and frontier posts in Gaul, Spain, and Pannonia. I would also except some towns in the interior of Asia Minor, which owed their importance to their position on the route of the overland traffic from Greece into Upper Asia. The political importance of Lugdunum was of later growth.

[2] Herodotus, iv. 86., reckons 1300 stadia, or 162 Roman miles, a good twenty-four hours' sail in summer. See Conybeare and Howson, *Life of St. Paul*, ii. 315. foll. from Greswell's *Dissertations*, &c., iv. 517. About seven knots an hour before the wind, for which the rigging with one mainsail is best adapted, might be the average speed of sailing.

[3] Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xix. 1. Between the period of Augustus and Pliny, about fifty years, there was probably a considerable advance in the science of navigation. That writer seems to attribute the increased speed in sailing to the use of the Egyptian linen in place of the hempen or lattin sails of the ancients, which from its lightness admitted of a much greater speed: "super antennas addi velorum alia vela, præterque alia in proris, et alia in puppibus pandi."

took twenty-nine days to reach the coast of Italy from Sardinia, and the Alexandrian vessel in which St. Paul sailed from the coast of Lycia would have wintered in a haven of Crete in the midst of its voyage to Rome. The Romans, indeed, only navigated in the finer parts of the year. The communication between Italy and Spain by water was interrupted from the middle of November and only recommenced in March.[1] It took as much as three months to sail from Gades to Ostia in the face of the east winds which prevailed at a certain season.[2]

Rome the emporium of the commerce of the Mediterranean.

But with the return of spring or summer the glittering sea was alive with vessels. Rome, placed like a mightier Mexico in the centre of her mighty lake, was furnished with every luxury and with many of her chief necessaries from beyond the waters; and cities on every coast, nearly similar in latitude and climate, vied in intense rivalry with each other in ministering to her appetite. First in the ranks of commerce was the traffic in corn, which was conducted by large fleets of galleys, sailing from certain havens once a year at stated periods, and pouring their stores into her granaries in their appointed order. Gaul and Spain, Sardinia and Sicily, Africa and Egypt were all wheat-growing countries, and all contributed of their produce, partly as a tax, partly also as an article of commerce, to the sustentation of Rome and Italy. The convoy from Alexandria was looked for with the greatest anxiety, both as the heaviest laden, and as from the length of the voyage the most liable to disaster or detention. The vessels which bore the corn of Egypt were required to hoist their topsails on sighting the promontory of Surrentum, both to distinguish them from others, and to expedite their arrival. These vessels

[1] Vegetius, v. 9.: "Ex die tertio iduum Novemb. usque in diem sextum iduum Mart. maria clauduntur."

[2] Strabo, iii. 2. p. 144.

moreover, according to the institution of Augustus, were of more than ordinary size, and they were attended by an escort of war galleys. The importance attached to this convoy was marked by the phrases, *auspicious* and *sacred*, applied to it.[1] As it neared the Italian coast, its swiftest sailers were detached to go forward and give notice of its approach. Hence it glided rapidly, by night or day, under the guidance of the Surrentine Minerva on the right, and on the left of the lighthouse of Capreæ.[2] A deputation of senators from Rome was directed to await its arrival at the port where it was about to cast anchor, which, from the bad condition of the haven at Ostia, was generally at this period Puteoli in Campania. As soon as the well-known topsails were seen above the horizon a general holiday was proclaimed, and the population of the country, far and near, streamed with joyous acclamations to the pier, and gazed upon the rich flotilla expanding gaily before them.[3]

The vessels engaged in this trade, however numerous, were after all of small burden. The corn-fleets

[1] "Felix embola, sacra embola." Statius has a picturesque allusion to the mariner hailing the Isle of Capreæ and pouring his libation before the statue or temple of Minerva on the opposite height:

> . . . . . "Modo nam trans æquora terris
> Prima Dicarchæis Pharium gravis intulit annum:
> Prima salutavit Capreas, et margine dextro
> Sparsit Tyrrhenæ Mareotica vina Minervæ."

His friend Celer takes his passage on board this vessel, on its return voyage, to join his legion in Palestine:

> "Quam scandere gaudet
> Nobilis Ausoniæ Celer armipotentis alumnus."
>
> *Sylv.* iii. 2. 19.

[2] Stat. *Sylv.* iii. 5. 100:

> "Teleboumque domos, trepidis ubi dulcia nautis
> Lumina noctivagæ tollit Pharus æmula Lunæ."

[3] Seneca, *Epist.* 78., in which there is a lively account of this circumstance, says, "Cum intravere Capreas et promontorium ex quo alta procelloso speculatur vertice Pallas, cæteræ velo jubentur esse contentæ, supparum Alexandrinarum insigne indicium est."

did not indeed form the chief maritime venture of the Alexandrians. The products of India, which had formerly reached Egypt from Arabia, and were supposed indeed in Europe to have come only from the shores of the Erythræan Sea, were now conveyed direct to Cleopatris or Berenice from the mouths of the Indus and the coast of Malabar, and employed an increasing number of vessels, which took advantage of the periodical trade winds both in going and returning. The articles of which they went in quest were for the most part objects of luxury; such as ivory and tortoiseshell, fabrics of cotton and silk, both then rare and costly, pearls and diamonds, and more especially gums and spices.[1] The consumption of these latter substances in dress, in cookery, in the service of the temples, and above all at funerals, advanced with the progress of wealth and refinement.[2] The consignments which reached Alexandria from the East were directed to every port on the Mediterranean; but there was no corresponding demand for the produce of the West in India, and these precious freights were for the most part exchanged for gold and silver, of which the drain from Europe to Asia was uninterrupted. The amount of the precious metals thus abstracted from the currency or bullion of the empire, was estimated at 100,000,000 sesterces, or about 800,000*l.* yearly.[3] The reed called papyrus, the growth of which seems to have been almost confined to the banks of the Nile, was in general use as the cheapest and most convenient writing material, and the consumption of it through-

Staples of commerce in the Mediterranean.

Spices, &c., from the East.

Paper from Egypt.

[1] The objects of the Indian trade are enumerated by Arrian, *Peripl. Erythr.* p. 28., and also in the *Digest*, xxxix. tit. 4. 16.

[2] See the account of the funeral of Sulla in Plutarch, and of Poppæa (the wife of Nero) in Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xii. 41.

[3] Plin. *Hist. Nat. l. c.*: "Minimaque computatione millies centena millia sestertium annis omnibus India et Seres peninsulaque illa (Arabia) imperio nostro adimunt."

out the world, though it never entirely superseded the use of parchment and waxen tablets, must have been immense.[1] It was converted into paper in Egypt, and thence exported in its manufactured state; but this practice was not universal, for we read of a house at Rome which improved on the native process, and produced what Pliny calls an imperial or noble out of a mere plebeian texture.[2] With respect to other articles of general use, it may be remarked that the most important, such as corn, wine, oil, and wool, were the common produce of all the coasts of the Mediterranean, and there was accordingly much less interchange of these staple commodities among the nations of antiquity than with ourselves, whose relations extend through so many zones of temperature. Hence, probably, we hear of none of their great cities becoming the workshops or emporiums of the world for any special article of commerce.[3] The woollens indeed of Miletus and Laodicea, together with other places of Asia Minor, were renowned for their excellence, and may have been transported as articles of luxury to distant parts; but Africa and Spain, Italy and parts of Greece, were also breeders of sheep, and none of these countries depended for this prime necessary on the industry or cupidity of foreigners. The finest qualities of Greek

Woollens.

[1] The papyrus plant, *Cyperus papyrus*, is found also on the banks of a rivulet near Syracuse, and has sometimes been converted into paper there in modern times, as a matter of curiosity. See Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*, iii. 148.

[2] Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xiii. 23.: "Excepit hanc Romæ Fannii sagax officina, tenuatamque curiosa interpolatione principalem fecit e plebeia." The ordinary process of this manufacture was to place two layers of the thin slices of the papyrus crossways, and then paste and press them together. But Fannius, as I understand Pliny, plaited the transverse slices. The most elegant paper was rubbed thin and polished with shells or ivory.

[3] Hume, in his essay on the "Populousness of Ancient Nations," has the remark, which, as far as I have noticed, is correct, that no great city of antiquity is said to have acquired its importance from any kind of manufactures.

and Asiatic wines were bespoken at Rome, and at every other great seat of luxury. The Chian and Lesbian vintages were among the most celebrated, but the quantity they could produce must have been comparatively limited, and an immense proportion of the wines consumed by the nations of the Mediterranean was undoubtedly of home growth, for few of them were not themselves producers. Again, while the clothing of the mass of the population was made perhaps mainly from the skins of animals, leather of course could be obtained abundantly in almost every locality. When we remember that the ancients had neither tea, coffee, tobacco, sugar, nor for the most part spirits; that they made little use of glass, and at this period had hardly acquired a taste for fabrics of silk, cotton, or even flax, we shall perceive at a glance how large a portion of the chief articles of our commerce were entirely wanting to theirs. Against this deficiency, however, many objects of great importance are to be set. Though the ruder classes were content with wooden cups and platters fashioned at their own doors, the transport of earthenware of the finer and more precious kinds, and from certain localities, was very considerable.[1] Though the Greeks and Romans generally were without some of our commonest implements of gold and silver, such for instance as watches and forks, it is probable that they indulged even more than we do in personal decoration with rings, seals, and trinkets of a thousand descriptions. Their ar-

Wine.

[1] I believe it is now understood that the murrha of the Romans was not porcelain, as had been supposed from the line,

"Murrheaque in Parthis pocula cocta focis,"

(Propert. iv. 5. 26.), but an imitation in coloured glass of a transparent stone. It is agreed that the so-called Etruscan ware, of which such immense quantities were used in Italy, was not an Etruscan, but a Greek manufacture, and came not even from the Greeks of Lower Italy, but from the mother country beyond the sea. Macculloch's *Political Essays*, p. 298.

mour and even their peaceful habiliments were ornamented with the precious metals, and altogether the traffic in this particular article, which came chiefly from the Spanish mines, furnished as important an element in their commerce as in our own. The conveyance of wild animals, chiefly from Africa, for the sports of the amphitheatres of some hundreds of cities throughout the empire, must alone have given occupation to a large fleet of ships and many thousand mariners.[1] Nor were the convoys smaller which were employed to transport marble from the choicest quarries of Greece and Asia to many flourishing cities besides the metropolis; and even the spoliation of the forums and temples of the East, not of their pictures and statues only, but of columns and pavements and almost entire edifices, furnished a notable addition to the annual freights of the Mediterranean. The last article of transport which need be enumerated is that of troops and military stores, including engines of war, horses, and even elephants, which alone must occasionally have required large naval armaments; for it was by water, far more than by land, that the forces of Rome were conveyed to Greece, Spain, and Asia, as well as to Africa and Egypt. When we remember that the Mediterranean was closed for a third part of the year, and that all this variety of maritime enterprise was crowded into a few months annually, we shall be disposed to regard with some indulgence the bold hyperbole of Juvenal, that more than half mankind was actually upon the water.[2]

[1] Petron. *Satyr.* 119.:

"Premit advena *classes* Tigris."

Such insignificant places as Dorchester and Lillebonne had spacious amphitheatres; the one, perhaps, merely of turf with wooden sheds, but the other a miniature colosseum in architecture and masonry.

[2] Juvenal, xiv. 275.:

"Adspice portus
Et plenum magnis trabibus mare: plus hominum est jam
In pelago."

Effect of commerce in giving unity to the empire.

After due deduction for the more contracted sphere of ancient commerce, and the lesser number of articles, for the extent also to which the necessaries and conveniences of life were manufactured at home in the establishments of wealthy slave-owners, we shall still readily believe that the intercommunication of the cities of the Mediterranean, such as Corinth, Rhodes, Ephesus, Cyzicus, Antioch, Tyrus, Alexandria, Cyrene, Athens, Carthage, Tarraco, Narbo and Massilia, Neapolis and Tarentum, Syracuse and Agrigentum, and of all with Rome, must have been a potent instrument in fusing into one family the manifold nations of the empire. While each community retained for the most part its own commercial laws and customs' duties, which operated to some extent in impeding the free interchange of their divers commodities, the direct traffic with Rome was equally free to all; nor were the tolls levied on imports into the capital either capricious or severe. Rome, conspicuous on her seven hills, and though situated fifteen miles inland, not perhaps invisible from the Tyrrhene waters[1], became the great central object to which all enterprise and commercial cupidity looked; and in the eyes of the Orientals and the Greeks, the mistress of lands and continents, the leader of armies, and the builder of roads was regarded as the greatest of all maritime emporiums, and represented in their figurative style as a woman sitting enthroned upon the waves of the Mediterranean.[2]

[1] The cross of St. Peter's may be seen from the sea, but it may be questioned whether any building of ancient Rome was equally lofty.

[2] "The great whore that sitteth upon many waters . . . . Alas, alas! that great city Babylon . . . . the merchants of the earth shall weep and mourn over her, for no man buyeth of her merchandise any more . . . . The merchandise of gold and silver and precious stones, and of pearls, and of fine linen and purple, and silk and scarlet, and all thyine wood, and all manner of vessels of

Security of maritime commerce under the empire.

The maritime aspect thus assumed by Rome in the eyes of her subjects beyond the sea, is the more remarkable when we consider how directly her ancient policy and habits were opposed to commercial development. Cicero mentions it, among the advantages of her site, that she was removed from the sea, contact with which was supposed to have been fatal to her predecessors in empire, to Athens and Corinth, Syracuse and Carthage.[1] The landowners of Rome, in the highday of her insolent adolescence, had denounced both commerce and the arts as the business of slaves or freedmen. So late as the year 535 a law had been passed which forbade a senator to possess a vessel of burden, and the traffic which was prohibited to the higher class was degraded in the eyes of the lower.[2] But it would not have been necessary to enact such a

ivory, and all manner of vessels of most precious wood, and of brass and of iron, and of marble, and cinnamon, and odours, and ointments, and frankincense, and wine and oil, and fine flour, and wheat, and beasts and sheep, and horses and chariots, and slaves, *and souls of men.*" *Revel.* xvii. 1., xviii. 10. "That great city, wherein were made rich all that had ships in the sea." The above is perhaps a complete enumeration of the imports of the port of Ostia for the use of Rome. For the sense in which the opprobrious term ἡ πόρνη is applied to Babylon, *i. e.* Rome, Schleusner compares Isaiah xxiii. 16., where the Hebrew equivalent is applied to Tyre: "Quia fuit propter mercaturam insignis, et sicut meretrix lucri et quæstus causa cum aliis negotiabatur."

[1] Cic. *de Republ.* ii. 4.

[2] Liv. xxi. 63.: "Ne quis senator, cuive senatorius pater fuerat, maritimam navem, quæ plus quam trecentarum amphorarum esset, haberet. Id satis habitum ad fructus ex agris vectandos: quæstus omnis patribus indecorus visus est." The measure, however, was strongly contested, and brought odium upon its author Flaminius. Compare with this interdict the limited toleration Cicero extends to the pursuit of commerce: "Mercatura, si tenuis est, sordida putanda est; sin magna et copiosa, multa undique apportans, non est admodum vituperanda. Atque etiam si satiata quæstu, vel contenta potius, ut sæpe ex alto in portum, ex ipso portu in agros se possessionesque contulerit, videtur jure optimo posse laudari. Omnium autem rerum ex quibus aliquid acquiritur, nihil est agricultura melius . . . . . nihil homine libero dignius." *De Offic.* i. 42.

restriction were not the thirst of lucre already sapping the foundations of the old Roman spirit, which had allowed itself no other employment but arms and agriculture. The traders of Rome, instead of connecting themselves by relations of commerce with foreign houses, preferred, under the pressure of these limitations, to withdraw beyond the sea, and devoted their industry to the pursuit of wealth removed from the watchful eyes of the censors and the vulgar prejudices of the multitude. The government, in its barbarous zeal for the ancient traditions, burnt the captured fleets of Carthage and Corinth. It sought to destroy the resources of its enemies' naval power rather than to increase its own. Possessed of no native commerce, it beheld with indifference the dominion of the seas passing into the hands of pirates; nor did it care to create a naval force, and assert its supremacy in the Mediterranean, till the transport of its own armies and their generals was menaced and impeded. When roused at last to act upon the ocean the Romans did not leave their work imperfect. The suppression of piracy by Pompeius, the greatest exploit of his life, was effected once for all. Under the empire the midland sea became a safer highway than it had ever been before or, till recent times, has been since; and the people who dwelt along its shores, and daily went down upon its waters, were sensibly convinced of the unity of all nations under the sway of the universal ruler.

Rome the centre of communications by land.

It was thus by following the natural train of circumstances, and by no settled policy of her own, that Rome secured her march across the sea, and joined coast to coast with the indissoluble chain of her dominion. On land, on the contrary, she constructed her military causeways with a fixed and definite purpose. Her continental possessions, at least in the West, were at this time, for the most part, still in a state of nature: the cultiva-

tion, as has been said, of Gaul and Spain, Illyria and Pannonia, even of a great part of Italy and Greece, was still limited to the neighbourhood of the coast and the valleys of rivers; while the upper country almost everywhere presented an expanse of primeval forest, broken sometimes by grassy prairies, sometimes by rugged mountains, and again by impassable morasses. The population of Gaul crept, we know, slowly up the channel of the rivers, and the native tracks which conveyed their traffic from station to station were guided by these main arteries of their vital system. But the conquerors struck out at once a complete system of communication for their own purposes, by means of roads cut or built as occasion required, with a settled policy rigidly pursued. These high roads, as we may well call them, for they were raised above the level of the plains and the banks of the rivers, and climbed the loftiest hills, were driven in direct lines from point to point, and were stopped by neither forest nor marsh nor mountain. Throughout their course they were studded with inscribed pillars erected at equal distances of a thousand paces: they were furnished with stations or post-houses, and kept in repair by tolls or rates in Italy; in the provinces, we may suppose, by the forced labour of the population.[1] It was no part of the policy of the conquerors to facilitate the intercourse of the natives of the interior, and the municipal system they introduced among them tended rather to isolate each separate community, and make it independent of those around it. But the sense of unity and common dependence on a central authority was admirably maintained by the instrument of communication with Rome, which, in whatever quarter the subjects of the state might cross

[1] Cic. *pro Font.* 4.: The cross roads (vicinales viæ) were kept in repair by the owners of the land through which they ran, who were assessed thereto by the magistri pagorum. Siculus Flaccus, in *Scr. R. Agr.* 146., ed. Lachmann.

it, always pointed with a silent finger in the direction of their invisible mistress.[1] Far as the eye could reach, till it was lost in the remote horizon, stretched this mysterious symbol of her all-attaining influence; and where the sense failed to follow the imagination came into play, and wafted the thoughts of the awe-stricken provincial to the gates of Rome and the prætorium of the venerable imperator. Along these channels, as he knew, the armies, the laws, and the institutions of the city streamed, in ceaseless flow, to every corner of the earth: they were the veins through which the life-blood of the empire circulated from its heart, making every pulse to beat with unfailing harmony and precision.

The orbis pictus, or map of the empire.

Julius Cæsar had commanded this vast machine of life and movement to be delineated on a chart or map, and the work was conducted with such minute and scrupulous care, that the three commissioners to whom it was entrusted, were employed twenty-five years in elaborating it.[2] The zeal and activity of Agrippa had watched over the progress of the work, and finally brought it to completion. The science of geography had made but

[1] For the rate of travelling by land, we may notice that Cæsar reached Geneva from Rome in eight days (Plut. *Cæs.* 17.); and Suetonius tells us that he commonly performed one hundred miles in the twenty-four hours. *Jul.* 57. Tiberius actually travelled two hundred miles in that time, when he was hastening to Drusus in Germany. Plin. *Hist. Nat.* vii. 20. Cicero (pro *Rosc. Am.* 19.) speaks of fifty-six miles as a good twelve hours' journey by the cisium or post-carriage. These are all mentioned as instances of great speed. Martial gives the more ordinary rate of forty miles a day:

> "Hispani pete Tarraconis arces.
> Illinc Bilbilin et tuum Salonem
> Quinto forsitan essedo videbis."

(x. 104.); the distance of the Roman road through Ilerda and Cæsar Augusta being about two hundred miles.

[2] From Cæsar's consulship, 710, to that of Saturninus, 735. (Hoeck, *Ræm. Gesch.* i. 2. 394.), from Æthicus, whose computation, however, is not quite accurate.

little progress before the time of Augustus (there was little demand for it as long as all civilized men dwelt around the shores of one marine basin), and the information of the few writers on the subject was neither extensive nor precise. The sun and stars were not observed to ascertain the position of places; the definitions of latitude and longitude were not invented till two centuries later. But there existed ample materials for a comprehensive survey of the Roman dominions, in an infinite mass of chorographical details preserved in the local archives, by comparing and combining which, and verifying them by observation and measurement, it was possible, with vast labour, and not without many inaccuracies, to work out a map of the entire empire on an uniform scale. Of the map which Agrippa caused to be engraved or painted on the walls of his portico at Rome, we know only that it represented by a series of diagrams the result of this laborious commission. It is evident, from the nature of the place in which it was exhibited, that this *painted world*, as it was denominated, bore no resemblance to the kind of delineation to which we give the name.[1] It made, we must suppose, no attempt to express the proper configuration of lands and seas, but simply to represent, in a series of tables, the order and distances of places upon every line of road, coast, and river. Its extension along the walls of a gallery or cloister was meant to keep all its parts nearly on the same level, in which respect it

[1] The source of our acquaintance with the map (orbis pictus) of Agrippa is Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* iii. 3.: "Cum orbem terrarum orbi spectandum propositurus esset . . . . is namque (*sc.* Augustus) complexam eum porticum ex destinatione et commentariis M. Agrippæ a sorore ejus inchoatam peregit." I conceive that this map was engraved on the wall of the portico, and the linescoloured, like the fragment of the well-known Plan of Rome in the Capitoline museum. We may get the best idea, perhaps, of its shape and character from the curious specimen of ancient chorography called the Peutinger Table, which may, indeed, be actually a reduction from it adapted to a later period.

may be compared to the sculptured frieze of a temple, or the pictured series of the Bayeux tapestry. Such a delineation might serve to amuse and astonish the multitude; but it could have been of little real service without the supplement of a written description. This was furnished no doubt by the commentaries of Agrippa, which explained the portion of the work addressed only to the eye, and to which the great geographer Pliny refers as one of his amplest and most conclusive authorities.[1] We are not, however, to imagine, that the compilers of the *Painted World* did no more than measure itineraries, and state the result in a diagram or in a volume. They measured, we may believe, not only the roads, but the areas which lay between them; the labour of a quarter of a century produced no doubt a complete registration of the size, the figure, and the natural features of every province, district, and estate throughout the empire. Every portion of this immense work, it may be presumed, was traced on vellum, or engraved on plates of brass: if it was too unwieldy to be comprehended on a single tablet and exposed at one view to the gaze of the Roman people, it was preserved piece by piece as an official record for the examination of government. It may even be conjectured that copies of the whole, or of parts, were taken from it, and multiplied for private or official use.[2]

[1] Pliny cites Agrippa twenty-six times, according to Frandsen (*Agrippa*, p. 188.), and always in such terms as he uses in reference to known authors of books. There can be no doubt, therefore, of the nature of the Commentaries, as a work of geographical details.

[2] This may be inferred, perhaps, from the line of Propertius (iv. 3. 36),

"Cogor et e tabula pictos ediscere mundos;"

and from a passage in Eumenius (*de Instaur. Schol.* 20, 21.): "Illic omnium cum nominibus suis locorum situs, spatia, intervalla, descripti sunt, instruendæ pueritiæ causa." These smaller maps would be something different from the chorographical itineraries recommended by Vegetius (*de Re Mil.* iii. 6.) for military purposes: "itineraria provinciarum . . . ut non solum consilio mentis verum

Chorographical surveys in use at Rome.

We shall find it difficult, indeed, to acquiesce in the notion that the Romans had no chorographic maps, when we remember the care and exactness with which they measured the surface of every private estate, and represented its configuration. From a very early period they had been accustomed to delineate the areas of the national domains, and of every conquest they successively added to them. The land surveyor, as has been before remarked, followed regularly in the track of the imperator, and lent the aid of his staff and line to work out the imaginary division of allotted territory made by the augur according to the forms of the Etruscan discipline. The assessment of land to the public revenue, in which under the early republic the chief element of the national resources consisted, was apportioned with scrupulous precision, and founded on authentic registers, including maps as well as tabular statements. The examination and correction of these documents, from one lustrum to another, constituted a critical part of the censorial functions. Every fifth year the chorographical statistics of the Roman territory were carefully revised and adjusted to the actual facts, and few of these quinquennial periods elapsed without some extension of its limits, and a corresponding addition to the duties of the censorship. After the remission, indeed, of the land-tax upon the estates of Roman citizens, the state had less interest in this inquisition. It would seem, nevertheless, to have been still maintained, while the investigation became further extended to the property of the subjects throughout the provinces. The census of the provincials, however, was different in some respects, and bore a different name

Census and Professio.

aspectu oculorum viam profecturis eligerent." The Itineraries preserved to us were constructed, we may suppose, from the records of the roadmakers, of which a specimen may be seen in the inscription of Aquillius (Gruter, p. 150.), stating the names of places and distances on the Way he built from Capua to Rhegium.

from that of the citizens. It was not sanctified by the same ceremonies; it did not require to be held by a censor, but might be taken by the proconsul; nor was it necessarily simultaneous with the census at Rome. The provincial *Profession*, as it was designated, extended wherever the land tax was exacted; and this was the case, not only throughout the subject countries and communities, but even in those which were suffered to call themselves autonomous, provided they had not the further privilege of immunity.[1]

The geographical science of the Romans thus advanced in the same proportion with their conquests. Its application was carried out from the banks of the Tiber to those of the Rhine and Euphrates with the same rigid minuteness, and its results preserved with no less scrupulous solicitude. It furnished an immense mass of materials for the mathematicians to whom the redaction of the Cæsar's Universal Geography was confided; although, as these professors of science were Greeks, it is possible that they may have made little account of the rough practical drawings of the Roman surveyors. These working drafts were engraved upon brazen tablets and preserved, together with a complete account of everything which constituted the value of

Statistical registers of the empire.

[1] "In urbe Roma tantum censum agi notum est: in provinciis autem magis professionibus utuntur." Dositheus in *Corp. Juris Ante-Theod.* ed. Boecking, p. 63. The census as applied to Roman citizens had other objects besides the fiscal. It was designed to fix the position of the citizen in the classes, and, accordingly, in the comitia of the centuries, by the amount of his means; and thus the state acquired an accurate knowledge of the numbers upon which it could reckon for different kinds of military service. The census was held in Rome, and the citizens were summoned before the censors in person. It may be concluded, therefore, though we have no specific statement to that effect, that it was not applied beyond the bounds of Italy, nor, till a late period, at any great distance from Rome. Hence the trifling addition made to the roll of citizenship by the nominal admission of the whole Italian population.

the soil, in the archives of the Tabularium.[1] The Professions of the provinces comprehended, after the manner of the censorial registers, not only a numerical statement of the freemen and slaves, the women and children, and cattle of every description, not only of the houses and buildings also, but of the acreage of every farm, with the amount of land under tillage, in pasture or in wood, and the nature of its plantations, even to the number of vines, olives, and other fruit-trees.[2] The elder Cato in his censorship had demanded an exact inventory of clothes, carriages, trinkets, furniture, and implements.[3] The names of the owners of land on the borders of each particular farm were inscribed on the maps, as in those of our own surveyors. A certain individuality was attached, at least for fiscal purposes, to separate parcels of land. Each fundus or estate remained a constant quantity, while its component parts were sold or divided among various holders, and the fiscal liabilities of the whole *Caput* were apportioned among them respectively.[4]

It was from the precise information contained in these official registers that Augustus towards the close

[1] "Omnes significationes et formis et tabulis æris inscribemus, data, assignata, concessa, excepta, commutata pro suo, reddita veteri possessori, et quæcunque alia inscriptio singularum literarum in usu fuerit, et in ære permaneat. Libros æris et typum totius perticæ lineis descriptum secundum suas terminationes, adscriptis affinibus, tabulario Cæsaris inferemus." Hyginus, *de Limit. Constit.* ed. Goes. 193. ed. Lachmann, p. 202. For lineis, Goesius reads linteis, which Dureau de la Malle cannot resist the temptation of adopting, and thence inferring that copies were taken off the plate on linen.

[2] Lactant. *de Mort. Persecut.* 23.: "Agri glebatim metiebantur, vites et arbores numerabantur, animalia omnis generis scribebantur, hominum capita notabantur; unusquisque cum liberis cum servis aderant."

[3] Plut. *Cat. Maj.* 18.

[4] Compare *Digest*, x. tit. i. 4.: "Si alter fundus duorum, alter trium sit, potest judex uni parti adjudicare locum de quo quæritur, licet plures dominos habeat; quoniam magis fundo quam personis adjudicari fines intelliguntur."

of his reign, drew up the complete survey of the Roman empire, which he placed in the hands of the Vestal Virgins, to be delivered to the senate and his successor after his death.[1] To this table of statistics he gave the name of Breviarium or Rationarium. It was the ledger of his household: but his household comprehended half the human race.[2] It embraced a succinct but authentic statement of all the resources of the Roman people, including indeed some details which lay beyond the ample verge of the census and profession, as for instance the number not only of the citizens and subjects, but also of the allies; it detailed the state of the naval as well as military forces of the commonwealth, the condition of the provinces and dependencies, and political system of each several community, the amount of the public revenues, and proceeds of every import, together with the expenses of the general government. At the foot of this compendious synopsis of Roman affairs the emperor had added a recommendation to his successors to abstain from extending further the actual limits of the empire. The final impression left on his mind, by the review of his vast possessions, was the solemn feeling that they were already as great as any single man could hope to wield for the welfare of the people committed to his care.[3]

The Breviarium Imperii.

[1] Suet. *Oct.* 101., comp. 28.: Tac. *Ann.* i. 11.: "Opes publicæ continebantur: quantum civium sociorumque in armis: quot classes, regna, provinciæ, tributa aut vectigalia, &c." Egger, *Hist. d'Auguste*, p. 50. It is not clear, however, whether the Breviarium, the legacy of Augustus, was precisely the same as the Rationarium, or imperial ledger.

[2] Augustus was sometimes styled, half in praise, half in mockery, "pater familias totius imperii."

[3] Tac. *l. c.*, Dion, lvi. 33. The immediate source of the emperor's compilation was, no doubt, the work of Balbus, the chief of his staff of surveyors, who had drawn up a statistical survey of the provinces. See *Script. Re Agr.* p. 239. ed. Lachmann. Comp. Cassiodorus, *Variar.* iii. 52.: "Augusti siquidem temporibus orbis Romanus agris divisus, censuque descriptus est, ut possessio sua nulli haberetur incerta, quam pro tributorum susceperat quantitate solvenda." Cited by Dureau de la Malle, *Econ. Pol. des Rom.* i. 193.

The Romans possessed accurate information on the subject of population.

This little book might well be regarded as a symbol of the unity of the empire. It comprised within the compass of a single manual the result of a mass of statistical information derived from every corner of the provinces, and elaborated with a degree of method and a completeness which has never been rivalled even by modern civilization until our own century. Under no less stringent and minute a system would it have been possible to work the regulation for taxing the succession to property, or for apportioning the amount of tribute exacted from the great corn-growing countries. The details upon which it was based, engraved, as already stated, on metal plates, and deposited in the vaults of the treasury beneath the Capitol, might have survived to this day, had they been left to the slow process of natural decay. But these documents have suffered from violence and conflagration, at a time when they had lost the interest they originally possessed, and which in our day they would undoubtedly have recovered. While Virgil and Livy had a thousand copyists, no one took the pains to multiply the exemplars of these abstruse documents, which were regarded as no better than cast-off almanacks. We would sacrifice many of the remains of ancient literature for a transcript of the Breviarium of Augustus, or the tables of finance and population. The rulers of Rome, we have no reason to doubt, had the means of glancing at complete details on the subject of population. The births and deaths, the marriages and divorces, were all duly registered. The first enumeration of the Roman people was attributed to the founder of the state; and a law, ascribed to Servius Tullius, required that every birth should be registered by payment of a piece of money in the temple of Juno Lucina. At every death or funeral a piece of money was similarly offered at the shrine of Libitina. The assumption of the robe of

manhood was verified by a fee to Juventas.[1] The naturalist Pliny illustrated the subject of human longevity by extracts from a census of Cispadane Gaul, from which it appears that every inhabitant was required to state his exact age to the enumerator.[2] If he allowed his imagination to wander beyond the strict limits of truth in giving his reply, he was at least liable to be checked by the registers of birth, which were also regularly kept. Every parent on *taking up* his new-born child, entered its birth in the *Acta* or Journal of Public Events, which was preserved as a state document. As regards marriages, there may be perhaps no direct evidence of the registration which is here presumed; but that such was the case in respect of divorces, is more than once expressly affirmed.[3] If these testimonies apply only to the case of citizens, we may fairly infer from analogy that similar regard was had to the registration of the provincials, though this may have been a later institution.[4]

[1] Dion. Hal. iv. 1.

[2] Pliny refers to a census under Vespasian (circa A. D. 70), as furnishing indisputable evidence as to vital statistics throughout the empire. His own citations he confines to a small district. At Parma, he tells us, three persons returned themselves æt. 120; two, æt. 130; at Brixellum, one, æt. 125; at Placentia, one, æt. 131; at Faventia, one, æt. 135; at Veleiacum, six, æt. 110, four, æt. 120, one, æt. 140. On the whole, in the eighth region of Italy, there were fifty-four persons of 100, three of 148 years. The figures are no doubt far too high, but they prove the main fact that the inquiry was regularly made. Plin. *Hist. Nat.* vii. 50.

[3] Cic. *ad Div.* viii. 7.: "Paula Valeria divortium sine causa fecit: nuptura est D. Bruto: nondum retulerat (*scil.* in acta)." Juvenal, ii. 136.: "Fient ista palam, cupient et in acta referri."

ix. 84.: "Tollis enim et libris actorum spargere gaudes
Argumenta viri."

Digest, xxii. tit. 3. 29.: "Mulier gravida repudiata, absente marito filium enixa, ut spurium in actis professa est." Capitolinus, *Gord.* 5.: "Filium Gordianum nomine Antonini et signo illustravit, quum apud præfectum ærarii more Romano professus filium publicis actis ejus nomen insereret."

[4] Capitol. *M. Anton.* 9.: "Jussit apud præfectos ærarii Saturni unumquemque civium natos liberos profiteri, intra tricesimum diem

The Acta, or Journal of the State.

The numerical statements of the ancient authorities are not, therefore, to be lightly disregarded, as they evidently possessed sources of accurate information on many points of social economy, if they chose to use them. It is to be feared, however, that, with their loose notions of historical composition, they rarely took pains to examine these sources with care and discrimination. The avowed references to the Official Journal of the State are meagre and obscure.[1] The forgeries of some unscrupulous scholars, who have put forth pretended extracts from this lost treasure, may remind us how much we have suffered from the disappearance of the genuine documents.[2] Of the actual nature of their contents, however, we can nowhere obtain a clearer idea than from the mock account of the freedman Trimalchio, a personage in the curious satire of Petronius, represented as immensely wealthy, and enacting, on a smaller but yet a truly magnificent scale, the part of the imperial owner of the Roman world.

The seventh of the kalends of Sextilis.—On the estate at Cumæ, belonging to Trimalchio, were born thirty boys, twenty girls;—were carried from the floor to the barn 500,000 bushels of wheat;—were broke 500 oxen.—The same day the slave Mithridates was crucified for blasphemy against the emperor's genius.[3] *The same day was placed in*

nomine imposito. Per provincias tabulariorum publicorum usum instituit, apud quos idem de originibus fieret quod Romæ apud præfectos ærarii."

[1] These references are collected by Leclerc, *Journaux des Romains*, 181 foll., from Cicero, Tacitus, Suetonius, Seneca, the two Plinys, Dion, and some other writers. The facts elicited from them are, however, of the most trifling kind.

[2] The question of these forgeries, as they are now admitted to be, was warmly debated by the learned for two centuries. They seem to be traced to the composition of Ludovicus Vives, a friend of Erasmus.

[3] Petron. *Satyr.* c. 53.; vii. Kal. Sext.: "In prædio Cumano quod est Trimalchionis nati sunt pueri xxx., puellæ xx.: sublata in horreum ex area tritici millia modium quingenta: boves domiti D.:

the chest the sum of ten million sesterces, which could not be put out to use.—The same day was a fire in the Pompeian Villa, which spread from the house of Nasta the bailiff.—'How now?' exclaimed Trimalchio; 'when did I buy a villa at Pompeii?'—'Last year,' replied the intendant, 'so it has not yet come into the audit.' Trimalchio hereupon fell into a passion, and cried out—'Whatever estates I buy, if I am not told of them within six months, I will not have them brought into my accounts at all.'—Then were recited the ædiles' (surveyors') edicts, and the wills of certain herdsmen, with the excuses they made for omitting to make their master their heir; then again the sums lent by his bailiffs, and the story of a freedwoman, wife of a watchman, divorced on being caught in commerce with a slave of the bath; the case of a porter relegated to Baiæ;—of a steward accused and examined before the tribunal of the slaves and retainers of the bedchamber.—This piece of banter the author himself describes as a counterpart of the official register of events; and we may trace in it the way in which public receipts and expenses, as well as accidents and offences, were recorded for the information of the government and the amusement of the citizens.[1]

eodem die Mithridates servus in crucem actus est quia Gaii nostri genio maledixerat. Eodem die in arcam relatum est quod collocari non potuit sestertium centies. Eodem die incendium factum est in hortis Pompeianis, ortum ex ædibus Nastæ villici. Quid? inquit Trimalchio: quando mihi Pompeiani horti empti sunt? Anno priore, inquit actuarius, et ideo in rationem nondum venerunt. Excanduit Trimalchio, et Quincunque, inquit, mihi fundi empti fuerint, nisi intra sextum mensem sciero, in rationes meas inferri veto. Jam etiam edicta ædilium recitabantur et saltuariorum testamenta, quibus Trimalchio cum elogio exhæredebatur; jam nomina villicorum et repudiata a circuitore liberta in balneatoris contubernio deprehensa: atriensis Baias relegatus: jam reus factus dispensator et judicium inter cubicularios actum."

[1] Comp. Cicero (*ad Div.* viii. 7.), writing to Cælius from Cilicia, for the talk of the day recorded in the Acta. Plin. *Ep.* ix. 15.: "nobis sic rusticis urbana acta rescribe." Leclerc, *Journaux*, p. 217.

Inquiry into the population of the empire.

But the neglect and loss of these precious statistics have left us dependent on a few casual notices of history, and such inferences as may be drawn from analogy, on the point of chief interest to modern inquirers, the actual amount of population of the great Roman community. The statements we have received of the number of citizens concern, of course, a portion only of the whole mass, nor have we any direct means of comparing the relative numbers of the citizens and subjects, the freemen and the slaves. We must go back, for our starting point in the investigation of this subject, which we cannot altogether forego, however little satisfaction we may expect to derive from it, to the well-known statement of Polybius regarding the number of men available for arms in the Italian peninsula. From this datum we may proceed perhaps, step by step, by the aid of inference and comparison, however imperfect, to deduce an approximate estimate of the population of the Augustan empire: it must, however, be fully understood that such an estimate can only be put forth as a conjecture.

Statement of Polybius regarding the population of Italy.

It appears then, that, in the year of the city 529, the Romans and their allies the Campanians could furnish 273,000 men of all arms. The rest of Italy below the Rubicon, with the exclusion, however, of some of the wilder districts, could furnish 477,000. These numbers are understood to comprise all the men between the ages of seventeen and sixty.[1] But modern tables of life show that a sum of 750,000 of this age implies a total of 1,332,902 males; and this number must be doubled

[1] Polyb. ii. 24, where twenty thousand are to be deducted from his total for Cisalpine contingents. We may rely with sufficient confidence on the accuracy of the enumeration of the Romans, and perhaps of their allies; for that of the rest we must be content with the fact that the author was satisfied with it. The numbers of Polybius are very nearly verified by Diodorus and Pliny. For the limits of military age, see Dureau de la Malle, *Econ. Pol.* i. 217.

to obtain the amount of both sexes together which would raise the gross total of the free native population to 2,665,804.[1] To this must be added, the number of slaves, as to which it would be fruitless to hazard a definite conjecture, and also that of foreigners, which is no less uncertain. Some allowance is further to be made for the barbarians of the forests and mountains, and, indeed, the whole population, scanty as it doubtless was, of the wild peninsula of Bruttium, who could not be counted on for the defence of the common soil of Italy, and are accordingly omitted from the specification of Polybius.

Historical statements bearing on the population of Italy

In the sixth century of the city it is not to be supposed that the slaves bore any large proportion to the free population of Italy. The cultivation of the soil was still performed for the most part by free labour, and servile hands were chiefly employed in menial attendance on the wealthier classes, and in some kinds of handicraft and professions. Slaves were as yet generally obtained by war, but the condemnation of a whole population to bondage was comparatively rare, and reserved for cases where the greatest severity was required. The number, however, both of slaves and foreigners was undoubtedly more considerable in the Hellenic cities of Magna Græcia; while in the interior and at the extremities of the country there existed divers native tribes, in a state of wild and isolated independence. The density of population varied

[1] "D'après les tables de population calculées par M. Duvillard, et corrigées par M. Mathieu (*Annuaire du Bureau des Longitudes* pour 1839, p. 178. foll.), le nombre des individus de tout sexe de dix-sept à soixante ans, pour une population de 10,000,000, est de 5,626,819." De la Malle, i. 287. This is a proportion of fourteen to twenty-five; and the fighting men, whom we sometimes roughly estimate at one-fourth of a population, are more correctly seven twenty-fifths. Supposing male and female births to be nearly equal, against the drain of men by war in a warlike age, Dureau de la Malle sets the loss of female children by exposure at birth.

exceedingly in different parts of the peninsula. Some regions swarmed with life. The numbers, indeed, ascribed to the great Hellenic cities of the south-east are extravagant, and generally we may observe that less reliance can be placed in these matters upon Greek than Roman figures[1]; but we can hardly reject the express statements we have received of the number of organized communities within the narrow bounds of Latium. Between the Apennines, the Tiber, and the promontory of Circeii, a tract but sixty miles in length and perhaps thirty in breadth, the size of an English county, there was a confederation of states, which was assumed to be always thirty, though the number might from time to time vary.[2] The extreme smallness of these numerous communities is self-evident: each was composed of a few thousand, or even a few hundred warriors, who nestled on the narrow ledge of a scarped hill, descending daily into the plain to scratch the soil with spades and harrows; a soil, however, for the most part of exceeding fertility, which could easily have been made to support a swarm of industrious cultivators. Nevertheless the aggregate of the population in the most favoured portions of Italy must have been very considerable. Far the larger part of the peninsula, however, was as yet unsubdued by the husbandman. In early times Italy, now one of the least wooded countries of Europe, was covered almost throughout with forests. Many of the summits of Rome derived their names from the woods which originally shaded them, while the Capitoline and Quirinal were separated by a thick

Inferences from climate and physical features.

[1] For the exaggerated numbers ascribed to Sybaris and Crotona, see Diodorus (xii. 9.), and even the more judicious Strabo (vi. 1. p. 263.). Similar exaggerations are current with regard to Syracuse and Agrigentum.

[2] Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* vi. 63. Comp. v. 61., where he enumerates twenty-four. Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* iii. 9.) gives the names of fifty-three towns of Latium which had become extinct in his time.

grove, and the Velabrum was an almost impassable jungle.[1] Such was the scene which the poet of the Æneid recalled to his imagination in depicting the first landing of the Trojans on the destined site of empire. Virgil's landscapes, it will be remembered, are generally umbrageous. The forest of Sila occupied perhaps one half of Lucania. Large tracks even in Latium were covered with the bay-trees of Laurentum, the Arician ilexes, and the Gallinarian pine forests. Even within the lifetime of Augustus, Varro could say of Italy that it was so thickly set with trees as to appear like one continuous orchard.[2] Dionysius, the historian, remarks the convenience of its rivers for the transport of wood from the interior, and the Romans gave their cross roads the name of *wood ways*, on account of the timber which they were used in conveying.[3] But the streams of Italy have long ceased to be navigable, with the disappearance of the foliage which attracted moisture for their supply, the value of which for this purpose the Romans seem to have recognized in appointing special officers to preserve their forests, and perhaps in placing them under the protection of religion. The extirpation of this wild vegetation has led to further changes in the climate of these regions, the winters being now, as is generally believed, less rigorous than in ancient times. Even in the age of Augustus the progress of this change was observable. Columella refers to it in explanation of the fact that vines and olives grew in his day in many spots which they formerly refused to

[1] Hence the names of the Viminal, the Fagutal, the Querquetulan, and perhaps the Esquiline. A part of the Aventine was called Lauretum. Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* iii. 43.

[2] Varro, *de Re Rust.* i. 2.: Many places now bare of trees retain, it is said, a name, such as Frassineto, Saliceto, Laureto, which shows that they were formerly remarkable for their groves. See Moreau de Jonnès, *Statist. des Peup. Anciens*, p. 326.

[3] Via vicinalis and via lignaria are the common names for by-roads in the writers *de Re Agraria.*

inhabit. But the change in this respect has probably been still greater in other countries of Europe which the Romans regarded as far colder than their own. Strabo assures us that the north of Spain was thinly peopled on account of the severity of the climate. A Gaulish winter was proverbial for its intensity, and the central latitudes of the continent were described as suffering a perpetual frost.

Basis for an approximate calculation of the population of Italy.

The change which the lapse of centuries has evidently effected in the face of the country, in its climate, and consequently in its capacity for cultivation, presents alone an insuperable obstacle to our obtaining any precise knowledge of the amount of its ancient production, from whence to calculate approximately the numbers of its population. Nor, indeed, are there any accounts of its bearing at the present day, from which, supposing we could form a tolerable estimate of these physical changes, we might draw a reasonable inference on this point. Even were there such, we should still be at a loss to compare with accuracy the relative consumption of different kinds of food at the one time and the other. We shall be inclined perhaps to surmise that the ancient Italians were greater consumers of meat than their descendants; first, from the large districts of their country which were entirely devoted to feeding swine; secondly, from the numbers of the nobler animals which were reared for sacrifice; and again, from the importance they attached to maintaining at its height the physical strength of their martial populations. But waiving all such considerations, the most suitable basis we can adopt for an inquiry, which is too interesting to be altogether omitted, is that assumed by a modern writer of high authority on such subjects—a comparison, namely, of Roman or peninsular Italy with the south-eastern portion of modern France, which in extent and climate, in the character of its soil and variety of

elevation, bears the nearest analogy to it.[1] Assuming these two regions to comprise a like proportion of productive soil, and that Italy, in the time of Augustus, with which we are now concerned, was cultivated to the same extent, and with the same industry as this part of France at the present day, we may estimate the breadth of land under corn and green crops annually in the peninsula below the Rubicon as about two millions and a half of hectares, a figure which may be multiplied by 2·333 for the number of acres, or by four for that of Roman jugera.[2] This extent of land bears a ratio of less than one-fifth to the whole area. Our next step must be to ascertain the production of this amount of cultivated soil. We must inquire the quantity of seed used, and the proportion of the crop to the seed. On both these points the ancients have given us some definite statements, which will bear comparison with modern experience. Five modii, or one bushel and a quarter, it is said, was the seed required for each jugerum, and we may infer, as a mean between various statements, that the average ratio of production was sixfold, a ratio which holds very closely in the district of France under comparison.[3] Accordingly, the produce of each ju-

[1] Wallon, *Hist. de l'Esclavage*, &c. ii. 76. foll. Comp. Dureau de la Malle, *Econ. Pol.* i. 281. foll. The S. E. portion of France is limited by the meridian of Paris and the forty-seventh degree of latitude N.

[2] The statistical tables of France for 1840 give the area of the S.E. of France at 13,287,463 hectares, and in cereal cultivation 2,490,591 hect. The area of the Italian peninsula is stated by Wallon at 7,774 geogr. leagues square, or 15,356,109 hect. Hence the quantity in cultivation is estimated at 2,878,336 hect., Wallon, *l. c.* But this author, following De la Malle, has forgotten that Modena, Lucca, the Bolognese, the Ferrarese, and part of the Romagna, belong to the Roman Cisalpine. It appears from Maltebrun's tables, that Roman Italy, south of the Rubicon and Æsar, contains about 6,800 square leagues, which is about 13,450,000 hectares, of which, according to the proportion in France, we may compute that 2,500,000 are cultivated.

[3] Comp. Varro, *R. R.* i. 44.; Cic. ii. *in Verr.* iii. 4. The modius

gerum is to be rated at thirty modii, from whence the whole amount of the Italian harvest may be easily estimated. Another mean must next be taken from the data we possess regarding the quantity of cereal food consumed by the people of divers ages and classes, by free men and slaves, by women and children; and when this is fixed at three modii, or three quarters of a bushel per head per month, or nine bushels per head for the year, we shall arrive at a total population of about seven millions[1]; a number which may seem on many accounts to deserve our confidence, being far removed from the exaggerations of some modern inquirers, who would raise it to seven-and-twenty or even forty millions, and from the far more conscientious calculations of another, who, by an oversight, as it seems, has reduced it to less than five.[2] If such was the amount of the Italian

equals 2 gallons or a quarter of a bushel. The authorities for the individual consumption are Cato, *R. R.* 66.; Sallust, frag. [illegible]; Seneca, *Ep.* 80. 9.

[1] The calculation will stand thus:—

2,500,000 hectares.
4
10,000,000 jugera.
30
300,000,000 produce in mo[illegible]
50,000,000 deduct for [illegible]
Divide by 36 for annual consumption of modii per head } 250,000,000
6,945,000

Or, in round numbers, 7,000,000 population.

[2] The forty millions are assigned, if I remember right, by Moreau de Jonnés in his *Statistique des Anciens Peuples*, a work of little value except as a collection of texts, to the whole of Italy within the Alps; the twenty-seven is the result arrived at by Blair, in his *Essay on Ancient Slavery*, but I do not know exactly within what limits he applies it. On the other hand, Dureau de la Malle, who gives five millions for peninsular Italy, has made the error of assigning four modii per month, the consumption of a full-grown man, as the average of the whole population. His peninsular Italy also exceeds,

production in the time of Augustus, and such the number of the mouths it could feed, we must still make an arbitrary addition to the population for the multitudes which were supported within the peninsula by importation of grain from abroad. This importation, which had been resorted to, more or less, from an early period, first became fixed and constant about this time; but we may believe it had by no means yet reached its maximum.[1] The cultivation of Italy diminished as the foreign supply increased; and if we assume that under Augustus food was then furnished for two additional millions, this total of nine millions was the largest number of inhabitants ever collected in ancient times between the Rubicon and the Straits of Messana.[2] It is not, however, without hesitation that I pay so much regard to the strong expressions of the ancients, loose and fallacious as they often are, regarding the large amount of this importation, and the dangers, not of scarcity only, [illegible] [illegible]vation, which they supposed to impend on infer[illegible]e or deficiency.[3]

shown in a previous note, the true limits. Wallon, taking the [illegible]ge of individual consumption as ascertained from the French , arrives at the number of 8,114,534 for Italy; but he also takes e extended Italy than mine.

appears from Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* ii. 16., and Aurel. Victor, la Malle; Egypt and Africa supplied Italy, the one with twenty limited by forty millions of modii. This amount would feed latitude N. dii per annum) 1,666,666 individuals. To this is to

[2] The sta portation from Sicily, Sardinia, and perhaps other S.F [illegible] foreign supply had increased under the successors of Augustus. Tac. *Ann.* vi. 13. There is a fair presumption that not Rome only, but other Italian cities were partly fed from abroad.

[2] Maltebrun gives the population of the peninsula in 1826:—

Naples (without Sicily) - - - - -	- 5,690,000
States of the Church (omitting Bologna, &c.) about	- 2,000,000
Tuscany - - - - - -	- 1,275,000
	8,965,000

[3] It should be observed, however, that the failure of a portion of the usual supply does not imply the abstraction of a similar proportion from each individual's consumption. In time of scarcity a

The population of Italy compared with that of the provinces.

The resources of Italy had suffered severely during the civil commotions; yet not much more, perhaps, than throughout the chronic state of war and devastation which had continued from the commencement of its records. If its sufferings at the later epoch had been exceptional, attempts had been made to compensate them by exceptional methods. The establishment of military colonies, and the constant influx of slave labour, had tended to restore the level of its population, and the centre of the empire undoubtedly partook largely of the general prosperity, during the fifty years' peace of the Augustan age. We may regard Italy, therefore, at this period, as truly that which her fond children represented her, the garden of the world; and we cannot pretend to calculate the population of any other region on a similar basis, as none other, at least in Europe, approached so nearly to a uniform state of cultivation. The resources of the Cisalpine territory, which has been excluded from the above inquiry, were not regarded as equally developed with those of peninsular Italy. The valley of the Po was usually contrasted with the region of the Apennines, as a land of pasture rather than arable soil; though it is impossible that with so many cities, some of them very considerable, it could have neglected the production of grains for the food of man. The surface of this district is to that of the peninsula in the proportion of more than six to seven, and we will assume its population to be one half only, or about four and a half millions.[1] The inhabitants of Sicily, remark-

large proportion of the population pay more for their food, but continue to consume as much as ever; the loss in quantity falls entirely upon the remainder. Hence the importation may have been comparatively small, and yet the consequences of a deficiency may have been sufficiently alarming.

[1] Maltebrun gives the Italian areas, in square geographical leagues, as follows:—

able for its fertility and the number and opulence of its cities, cannot be set at less than two millions.[1] To Sardinia and Corsica together, however, we must not assign more than one-fourth of this amount. Gaul beyond the Alps was doubtless for the most part very thinly peopled. To a great extent it was covered by primeval forests, but these were diversified by large tracts of open plain and prairie; and when Strabo speaks of the whole country as generally cultivated, he must mean that it was not intersected by great mountain regions like Spain or Thrace, by salt or stony deserts like Asia Minor, nor by basins of sand like Egypt and Numidia. I have shown some reason for guessing its population at six millions in the time of Cæsar; and though it advanced rapidly in wealth and industry under his successor, it must have taken many years to recover the desolation it underwent in the struggle against the conqueror.[2] A large part of Spain had enjoyed tranquillity for a considerable period, and its resources had been actively developed by the skill and cupidity of Roman settlers. Its inhabitants, we may suppose, were more numerous than those of Gaul, but much less so than those of Italy. We may set them, therefore, at seven or perhaps

The Cisalpine region (Piedmont, Lombardy)		5000	6000
Add for the duchies and part of Papal States		1000	
The Peninsula	Tuscany	1100	6860
	States of the Church	1850	
	Naples	3910	
Sicily			1610

[1] Dureau de la Malle has gone into this inquiry, and his result is only twelve hundred thousand (*Econ. Pol.* ii. 380.). The correction I have applied is nearly the same as Wallon has shown to be applicable to his estimate for Italy. My reference to de la Malle's book is to an edition of 1840; I do not know whether it has been since revised.

[2] Though the tribute or military contribution of Gaul was light, we may imagine how severe must have been the pressure on its industry from the requisition of men, animals, and material of all kinds for the vast establishments of the Rhenish camps. Tacitus says, at a little later period, "Fessas Gallias ministrandis equis."

eight millions. The European provinces north and east of the Adriatic, comprising Achaia and Macedonia, with the Greek islands, Illyria and Dalmatia, Pannonia, Noricum, Vindelicia and Rhætia, Thrace and Mœsia, somewhat exceed Gaul in extent; and the superior populousness of the first of these districts, though far fallen from their palmiest days, compensating for the barrenness of others, we may reckon for them, on the whole, an aggregate of ten millions. The provinces of Asia, however, were unquestionably far more densely peopled than almost any portion of Europe. They were filled with innumerable cities, the hives of commerce and manufactures. Though they had suffered from the devastation of many transient conquests, they had for centuries hardly engaged in warfare themselves; they had maintained no standing armies of idle consumers, and had countenanced no prejudices against commerce and labour. If they doubled Italy in extent, they more than doubled her in the number of their inhabitants.[1] This will raise the aggregate for Europe and Asia to near seventy millions. The provinces of the last of the three continents had been far less harassed by war and spoliation; nevertheless, under the listless sway of the Ptolemies, Egypt, we are told, had fallen to one-half of her earlier population. Diodorus assures us that her people did not exceed three millions; but it may be questioned whether he includes the Greek residents; and there can be little doubt that he takes no account of the slaves, or of the Jews, who alone formed, perhaps, a fourth of the inhabitants of the Nile Valley.[2] We may believe,

[1] I omit the region of Palestine, which was only temporarily incorporated in the empire in the latter years of Augustus.

[2] Diodor. Sic. i. 31.; referred to in chap. xxviii. vol. iii. His expression is σύμπας λαός; but Wesseling asserts that the reading is uncertain. Fifty years after the death of Augustus, the population of Egypt, inclusive of Alexandria, is stated by Josephus at seven millions and a half of tribute payers. *Bell. Jud.* ii. 16. 4. There seems to be no proof that the poll-tax was extended to slaves.

moreover, that the resources of this favoured region grew as rapidly under the rule of the Cæsars, as they had fallen under its Macedonian tyrants. The districts of Cyrene and Africa remain still to be estimated: the former small in extent, but renowned for exuberant fertility, and the commercial activity of its cities, which had suffered no check since the suppression of the Cilician piracy; the latter long rejoicing in the impulse given to its industry by the demands of Italy. The returns from these regions may swell the general account to a total of eighty-five millions for the population of the empire of Augustus, including both sexes, all ages, and every class of inhabitants.

Ancient and modern population of the Roman dominions compared.

It may be observed, in conclusion, that the portion of the globe which constituted this empire far exceeds at the present day the numbers thus assigned to it at the period under consideration; at the same time, the revolutions which have swept at intervals over both the East and the West have reversed the social importance of the two great spheres of the Cæsarean dominions: the districts of Asia and Africa, which we have just surveyed, at that period the most flourishing of all, have now sunk almost to the lowest depths of a progressive decay; while, on the other hand, the European provinces are at this moment occupied by more than twice as many souls as acknowledged the sway of Augustus throughout those regions, although peninsular Italy has itself remained perhaps stationary in population.[1]

[1] We may estimate—

		Under Augustus, at
Gaul (*i. e.* France, Belgium, Switzerland, &c.) now at - - - -	40,000,000	6,000,000
Spain and Portugal - - - -	18,000,000	8,000,000
Italy (Piedmont and Lombardy) -	7,500,000	4,500,000
Smaller States - - -	1,500,000	
The Peninsula - - -	9,000,000	9,000,000
The Islands (Sicily, &c.) - -	2,500,000	2,500,000
Turkey in Europe (with Greece and Servia) - - - - -	12,000,000	10,000,000
Germany (south of the Danube) -	9,000,000	
European provinces - -	100,000,000	40,000,000

A view of the aggregate population advances the idea of unity.

Though statesmen, conversant with the returns of the census and profession, may have begun from an earlier time to contemplate the population of the empire as a whole, such a view must have been still foreign to the mass of the people, and perhaps the comprehensive estimate of Diodorus Siculus with reference to Egypt, is the first indication of such a spirit even among men of letters and intelligence. When it became general it would mark more strongly than any thing else the consummation of the change in popular sentiment, from the narrow ideas of tribe and nation to the broader view of the unity of mankind. The loose conjecture of Paganism, that divers nations sprang from divers heroes, and the heroes themselves from the gods, was ready to yield to the more enlightened doctrine of the unity of race, already disseminated in Rome by the Jewish scriptures, and may have been rendered popular through the fashionable poetry of the author of the Metamorphoses.[1] A wise government might have turned to good effect this growing tendency to acknowledge the unity, and consequently the essential equality of man; but while statesmen were unconscious of its importance, and regarded it with little interest, it was seized, under a higher direction, by the preachers of a new religion, and became the basis of a church or spiritual empire, which

The population of the Asiatic and African provinces at the present day, meagre as it is, is too uncertain for specification; but under Augustus we may thus enumerate it:—

Asia Minor and Syria - - - -	27,000,000
„ „ Cyprus - - - -	1,000,000
„ „ Egypt - - - -	8,000,000
„ „ Cyrene and Africa - -	9,000,000
	45,000,000
Grand total - -	85,000,000

[1] Ovid *Metam.* i. 78.:

"Natus homo est: sive hunc divino semine fecit
Ille opifex rerum, mundi melioris origo," &c.

The legends of Prometheus and Deucalion both imply the unity of mankind, and a single act of creation.

eventually overlapped on every side the bounds of the Cæsarean dominions.

But the sense of unity thus beginning to germinate received its first practical expression in the acquiescence with which the Romans beheld the universal peace which seemed about to envelope them. The grandeur of this new and strange idea made a deep impression on their imaginations. Some faint sighs for rest may be heard in the philosophy of Lucretius; but the poetry of the Augustan age echoes with jubilant strains at its supposed attainment. *Ah! who was the first to forge the sword of iron? How brutal, how truly iron-hearted was he!* [1] Such were the complacent declamations of the friends of peace, recited or sung before admiring audiences, and wafted from province to province. The transition of the Roman mind from aspirations of unlimited aggression to views of mere repression and control was sudden, but it was not the less permanent. Henceforth the policy of government or the ambition of princes might sometimes dictate an attack; but the people evinced no disposition for conquest, and would scarcely rouse themselves to avenge a national dishonour. Let the wild tribes of the exterior, the *outside barbarians*, they exclaimed, be taught to respect the majesty of the empire: let them be satisfied that she meditates no assault on them; let them receive from her hands the pledge of safety and tranquillity. *The Roman Peace*, which it was her mission to extend to the German or the Parthian, might be accepted by them as a boon, or must be endured as a burden.[2]

The Pax Romana, or idea of universal peace.

It became the settled policy of the imperial government, while acquiescing in these common yearnings

[1] Tibull. i. 10. 1.:

"Quis fuit horrendos primus qui protulit enses?
Quam ferus et vere ferreus ille fuit!"

[2] Virgil, *Æn.* vi. 853.: "pacisque imponere morem."

for peace, to fortify and guard the frontiers as the best security against war. The limits to which the generals of the republic had already advanced formed a strong and well-defined natural frontier at almost every point of the whole circuit. We have seen how its standing forces were posted along the lines of the Rhine and Danube, their quarters secured by a long chain of fortifications, and still further protected by the systematic devastation of the regions in their front, and the transport of the nearest barbarians within the limits of the adjacent province. In the East the frontier of the Roman dominion was less accurately defined; but the mountain passes which lead into Lesser Asia, practicable for armies during some months only in the year, were easily guarded, and the nominal independence of certain states inclosed within the empire was a wise provision for its defence in that quarter. The passage of the Euphrates was guarded at the most available points by fortified posts; and from thence to the Red Sea, from the Red Sea to the Atlas, and from the Atlas to the ocean, the Roman Peace was, for the most part, effectually secured by deserts and solitudes, which there at least the conquerors had not made but found.[1]

Troops and fortifications by which this peace was secured.

Within these sacred limits of the Roman Terminus the repose of the empire was calm, passive, and almost deathlike. The shores of the mighty ocean might still resound with the murmurs of the eternal conflict of servitude and freedom, but the depths of its central abysses were unmoved alike by winds and currents. The Alps, the Atlas, the Pyrenees, and the Hæmus were the last retreats of native independence: but the power of Augustus (so languid or timid on the frontiers),

Acquiescence of the subject nations.

[1] Compare the well-known expression of the British chief in Tacitus (*Agric.* 30.), so applicable in other quarters: "Solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant."

had been directed against his internal foes with a pertinacity which shows, that if his arm seemed anywhere weak, it was restrained, not by infirmity, but by policy. Ever and anon the subject nations lifted their heads and beheld with amazement and mortification, by what a mere shadow of military force they were actually controlled, and again lay quietly down, and resigned themselves to their humiliation. Spain and Egypt, they remarked, were kept in obedience each by two legions; Africa by one only; Gaul by two cohorts or twelve hundred men; Greece by the six lictors of a single propraetor.[1] The sway of Rome throughout the provinces was a government of opinion; it was maintained by the skill with which the interests of individuals and classes were consulted, by a system no doubt of political corruption, which, at least, was better than the sword, by the remembrance of the ills of barbaric lawlessness, above all, by a sense of the moral superiority of the conquerors. When the spiritual yearnings of the world, thus pacified and amalgamated, began shortly to issue in a burst of religious enthusiasm, under a Providential guidance, the conviction of the essential force and greatness of the Roman character was the firmest bulwark of heathenism against the assaults of Christianity.

War of opinion silently generated beneath the surface of the Roman Peace.

Nevertheless it was in vain that men cried peace, peace, when there was no peace. The greatest of Roman historians has lamented that the empire could furnish only a narrative of petty events, and a survey of contemptible characters; yet he has succeeded in investing this barren subject with a livelier interest, and inspiring it with a deeper pathos, than have been developed by the more stirring themes of any of his rivals. And yet he was not aware of the conflicts

[1] See a striking passage to this effect in Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* ii. 16.

that were really impending—the wars worse than civil that were actually fermenting beneath that unruffled surface—the foes more terrible than Gaul or Carthaginian, who were slowly struggling upwards, like the warriors of Cadmus, to destroy or be destroyed beneath the light of heaven. The human appearance of our Lord Jesus Christ dates from about the middle of the reign of Augustus. This mysterious event, in which we trace the germ of Roman dissolution, and still mark the frontier line between ancient and modern civilization, though once commonly assigned to the year 753 of the city, is now universally referred to a somewhat earlier period; and among many conflicting opinions, the best chronologers are still divided between the years U.C. 747 and 749, or 7 and 5 B.C.[1] It was not, however, till more than half a century later that the political consequences of the Christian revelation began to be felt: with these our history will be concerned hereafter, and it is not necessary to refer to them any further by anticipation.

[1] Fischer, with Ideler and Reinold, place the date in 747; but Clinton in 749. A remarkable light has recently been thrown upon this point, by the demonstration, as it seems to be, of Augustus Zumpt, in his second volume of *Commentationes Epigraphicæ*, that Quirinius (the Cyrenius of St. Luke, ch. ii.) was *first* governor of Syria, from the close of A. U. 750, B. C. 4, to 753, B. C. 1. Accordingly the enumeration begun or appointed under his predecessor Varus, and before the death of Herod, was completed after that event under Quirinius. It would appear from hence that our Lord's birth was A. U. 750, or 749 at the earliest. Though I have used the first volume of Zumpt's *Commentationes*, I have not yet seen the second, and have learnt his view from a passage pointed out to me in the *Christian Reformer* for Oct. 1855.

END OF THE FOURTH VOLUME.

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